THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

A MISSIONARY SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1920[1]

The Purpose of the Survey

FOR seven consecutive years (1913 to 1918) the January number of the Review contained a missionary Survey of the preceding year. In 1919 this practice was suspended, but in the October of that year a Survey of the Effect of the War upon Missions began and was continued through three numbers. The annual Survey is now resumed, partly in view of strong representations from many countries as to its value, partly because of the imperative necessity that the detailed work of missions should be related to the larger issues at stake at this time. The record in the following pages of international problems and reactions, of governmental changes in vast areas of Asia and of Africa, of the growth of national self-consciousness without and within the Christian Church, of the emergence of new factors bearing on the future of Christian education, and of the serious financial situation arising at the home base and in the mission fields, is of moment in

[1] This Survey, written by the editorial staff of the Review, is based on information collected from printed sources, such as missionary magazines, general periodicals (including the daily and weekly press), minutes of missionary conferences and councils, and government reports and regulations; and also on personal statements generously supplied by secretaries of the various mission boards and by missionary thinkers and leaders throughout the world. No attempt is made at completeness of record. The Survey offers a selection of facts which we believe illustrate the general situation.—ED.

every mission station and in each committee room and should inform and stimulate the intercessions of the Christian Church.

I. THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

THE reaction of Japan while under the continuous strain of a complicated international and national situation has been watched with intense and sympathetic interest during the year. The two last numbers of this Review have contained thoughtful presentations of some of the outstanding problems and contradictory tendencies which await solution.[1] The most noteworthy fact is the growth in Japan itself of a promising progressive and liberal movement, small as yet but full of hope for the future.

Japan at the Crossways

The tension with China arising out of Japanese claims upon Shantung has continued with serious effect upon the well-being of both nations.[2] Active military operations were carried on by Japan in Siberia during the earlier part of the year with a view to arresting the advance of Bolshevism. This led to diplomatic conversations with America, especially in regard to the formation of a buffer state including part of the Chinese province of Manchuria. Fresh complications threatened in October, when a Japanese force was sent to Hunchun, in the part of Manchuria adjoining Korea, with a view to maintaining order against guerrilla bands. This has further added to the strain between Japan and China. Japanese-American relations as to immigration are tense, and will not be clearly defined until it is seen what attitude Congress adopts to the conflicting bills now before the Houses on the subject of Asiatics on the Pacific Coast. Notification of the continuance of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911 has been received from both governments

International Relations

[1] See statements by Mr Edwyn Bevan in IRM, 1920 (July), pp. 322–5, and by Mr Galen M. Fisher (Oct.), pp. 518–30.

For further reference see p. 9.

by the League of Nations—a significant fact, since it is the first time that a treaty has been submitted to the League for examination in the light of the Covenant.

Social Conditions

Events of wide significance have also taken place in the internal life of Japan. The extension of the franchise granted in 1919 has led to a demand for universal suffrage, resulting, after much agitation, in the dramatic dissolution of the Diet on February 26. Earlier in the month a large strike broke out in the great government iron-works at Yawata, when thousands of men were thrown into idleness. In the midst of much social unrest, signs of progress are apparent. At the Washington International Labour Conference in November 1919 the Japanese delegates, with certain reservations, agreed that fourteen be the minimum age for child-labour, although at the Peace Conference they had opposed the attempt to insert such a clause in the treaty. The factory problem, shunned by most on account of its difficulties, is being faced by students, who are inspired rather than discouraged by the obstacles in the way. A single mission within a few months' time has been three times approached by large companies with regard to the promotion of social and spiritual work among their employees. Although drunkenness is increasing, its danger is being more realized, and a growing readiness for prohibition propaganda is apparent.

Religious Thought

As has been noted in a recent article in the Review,[1] a reinterpretation which attaches fuller significance to Shintoism is gaining ground, and there are indications that Emperor Worship has grown rather than weakened under the stimulus of contact with Christianity. The same might be said about new stirrings of life in Buddhism.

The year has seen a normal advance in the work of the missions and churches. A new factor was, however, introduced by the large plans of the American Interchurch World Movement, which raised high hopes in Japan.

[1] See IRM, 1920 (July), pp. 340–56.

The missionaries lent themselves to procure information likely to stimulate interest in America. A department to record the activities of the Movement was started in the *Japan Evangelist.* A special secretary was set apart for survey work. Surveys of ten central cities were prepared. Estimates of the needs of seventeen selected interdenominational undertakings, amounting to between four and five million dollars, were submitted to the American committee, and its approval of several of these for inclusion in the budget was in due course notified to Japan. The strenuous efforts made by the missionaries to present the needs of their field are some index to the disappointment at the failure of the Movement to produce the hoped-for supplies. The financial problem presses heavily on educational work; the salaries of teachers have risen at least fifty per cent and the cost of building two hundred per cent. Plans for a union Christian university, for which a large sum was included in the budget approved by the committee of the Interchurch World Movement, have had to be indefinitely postponed.

Interchurch World Movement

The use of the public press as a means of evangelization, especially in Japan, was strongly urged by Mr Pieters at the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in January 1920, and that body recommended the formation of a united agency to carry on the work. In August the Conference of Federated Missions in Japan agreed to revise the constitution of their existing committee on newspaper evangelism, with a view to making it an adequate channel for the development of union work. Striking testimony has been borne during the year to the definite results accruing from the active use of the press for Christian purposes.

Newspaper Evangelism

Other matters of interest dealt with at the Conference of Federated Missions included consideration of a preliminary report from a committee appointed at the previous meeting to find fuller means of co-operation with the Federation of Churches; the revision of the constitution

and by-laws of the Conference; a proposal to establish a general business office in Japan for all co-operating missions; steps towards the wider circulation and support of the *Christian Movement*, the *Japan Evangelist* and the *Myojo*, a Christian vernacular paper now conducted by the Christian Literature Society; the revision of missionary allowances, a committee being appointed to make a study of the variations in pre-war salaries and of the present rise in the cost of living; and the conservation of missionary health in Japan.

Conference of Federated Missions

The eighth Convention of the World's Sunday School Convention was held in Tokyo in October; particulars of the proceedings are not yet to hand. So far as the latest information goes the relations of Japan with China in regard to Shantung and with Korea interfered with the presence of any representative Chinese delegation at the Convention.

World's Sunday School Convention

Korea

The political situation in Korea in its relation to missionary work has been recently discussed in this Review.[1] In August 1919 the Conference of Federated Missions in Japan issued a statement in which, after reiterating their belief in the good intentions of the Japanese government, 'unmingled sympathy' was expressed for the Korean people in the 'cruel and unmerited suffering' inflicted on them by local officials in the suppression of the independence uprising. A month later representations were addressed to Baron Saito, as Governor-General, by the Federal Council of Missions in Korea, asking for the removal of certain restrictions on evangelistic, medical and educational work, on the publication of Christian literature and on the holding of property by churches and missions. Various moral reforms were urged and a strong protest was again made against the maltreatmei t

Political Situation

[1] IRM, 1920 (July), pp. 323–5; (Oct.) pp. 524–30. See also p. 129 of this issue.

of Koreans charged with complicity in the independence movement. Whilst Christians both in America and Great Britain have recognized, with very few exceptions, that political relations must be adjusted between Japan and Korea without any interference from outside, feeling has been deeply stirred by the continued record of Japanese severity. Evidence from various sources is so conflicting that no final judgment can be arrived at, but it is apparent at the time of writing that while the Japanese government have made progress in instituting promised reforms in administration, and several requests made by the Federal Council of Missions have been granted, some Koreans are still being treated by local officials with an unmeasured harshness from which the best conscience of Japan recoils.

Christian Activities

Notwithstanding the fact that the work of Christian missions has been seriously hampered by the general atmosphere of suspicion and strain and the arrest of many enterprises, there are encouraging indications of expansive life among Korean Christians. The three years' forward movement initiated in 1917 by the Methodist Episcopal Church has already passed its financial objective. The Presbyterian Church started a similar campaign in October 1919, which is progressing. In Seoul a preaching league with a membership of several hundred influential young men has been formed for evangelistic work in various centres. There is evidence from several missions of an increasing interest in education. The year has seen the completion of the first of the five main buildings of the Chosen Christian College at Seoul. In August there were seven foreign members of the faculty, and the number of students has risen to over seventy, representing every province in Korea. Although a serious financial position has been created by the famine of 1919, the immense increase in the cost of living and the heavy loss on exchange, yet there are indications that readiness to accept the principle of self-support is on the increase among the Christian congregations.

II. CHINA

TROUBLE and unrest are the characteristic features of China in 1920, due to the cumulative effect of financial distress and famine, disease and the civil war between North and South. In desperate financial straits, largely caused by heavy military expenditure, China has had to face the ravages of famine, which has affected from forty to sixty millions. The continuous fact in China's history in the last year has been the civil war. Profoundly dissatisfied with the Peace Conference, which transferred all the German rights in Shantung to Japan, China has been swept by an anti-Japanese movement. Japanese goods have been boycotted and students' demonstrations held. Hostilities have broken out between North and South, rival governments claiming sovereignty in Peking and Canton, the situation being complicated by the pro-Japanese attitude of some of the militarists. Dramatic vicissitudes of fortune and startling changes in the government have taken place. The struggle still drags on. The militarist party are petitioning the government for an increased force of 100,000 men. The central government is losing the confidence of the people, who nevertheless will not revolt lest a revolution should provide an opportunity for foreign intervention and aggression, which China at the moment is not able to withstand. These conditions have been an embarrassment and in some cases an actual hindrance to the work of missions. In some places missionaries have been robbed and held as hostages.

Political Unrest

There has been a recrudescence of poppy culture fostered by the lawless conditions which have prevailed. In some cases cultivation has been made compulsory by rapacious officials or soldiery. The smuggling of morphia and of cocaine is becoming an increasing menace.

Poppy Cultivation

Growth of National Consciousness.

Yet the situation is not entirely dark. There has been a remarkable movement towards Christianity under the influence of the Christian General Feng. The troubled state of political life is driving home to China the idea of nationhood. The Shantung question is of interest not only to the North but to the whole of China. The Mandarin language, now known as the 'national language,' is becoming in an increasing degree the accepted language of the land. Despite the division between North and South, there is a general desire for a union of forces, a settlement of differences and the recognition of Peking as the centre of government and the capital of the country. At a moment when rival armies in North and South were facing each other, it was found possible to hold in Tientsin a convention celebrating the 25th anniversary of Y.M.C.A. work in China, at which delegates from North and South mingled together in perfect fellowship, while messages of greeting poured in from the northern and southern provinces. The influence of Chinese students educated in the West has begun to permeate every institution in China. The Chinese government have recently granted a subvention for the establishment of an institute for higher studies in Paris and have agreed to the creation of an affiliated branch of the University of Paris in one of the Chinese universities.

China for Christ Movement

Chinese Christianity has reacted vigorously to the impact of these patriotic movements, stimulated further by the influence of the Interchurch World Movement in America. In December 1919 at Shanghai some hundred leading Chinese Christians and missionaries met under the auspices of the China Continuation Committee and inaugurated the China for Christ Movement. Dr Cheng Ching-yi, afterwards selected as general secretary, in a powerful speech showed that the moment had arrived for a nation-wide movement under Chinese leadership, with such practical aims as the removal of illiteracy, the training of Christians for service, the

inculcation of the spirit of stewardship, the securing of recruits for the ministry, the development of missionary work and the creation of a true sense of Christian citizenship. In city after city the Movement was organized on these lines. In April, at its eighth annual meeting, the Chinese Continuation Committee agreed to become for one year the central committee of the China for Christ Movement, increasing for that purpose the number of Chinese members to half its total membership. The work of the Movement has been hampered on the side of organization by the inability of the Interchurch World Movement in America to provide the large sums of money expected.

A small but significant illustration of the outreach of Chinese Christianity is found in the formation at Peking, in January 1920, of the Christian Apologetic Group, or 'the group of truth witnesses.' The group sets forth four leading ideas—that Christianity has a contribution to make to national welfare, that the truths of religion ought to be interpreted in modern terms, that the people of China must have a special explanation of the Christian religion and that all kinds of knowledge should be used to interpret the fullness and richness of Christianity. The group held a retreat in March 1920 in order to discuss religious questions with the leaders of the New Thought Movement. A noteworthy feature was the clear statement of personal Christian faith made by members of the Apologetic Group, some of whom are professors in government service.

Christian Apologetic Group

A further indication of spiritual activity is found in the call to the Christian ministry issued by the Student Volunteer Movement of China, in view of the fact that there is only one ordained pastor to every 560,000 people in China. A week was set apart in May for united intercession and a special effort to bring the claims of this service before individual students.

Call to the Ministry

Meantime the Chinese Home Missionary Society has settled into steadily expanding work, having undertaken

responsibility for an area of about 10,000 square miles. An appeal has been issued for workers to occupy three centres in Yunnan province.

Chinese Home Missionary Society

The stirring of new life in Buddhist circles in China is shown by the publication of two new Buddhist magazines. Active Buddhist propaganda has been started in several provinces and even students have given considerable response. One monastery received a thousand monks in a year. The Continuation Committee has appointed a special committee on work among Buddhists to consider, *inter alia*, proposals made by a Norwegian missionary for opening a hospitality hall where travelling monks could be received for worship and study.

Buddhism and Christianity

Two outstanding features in the educational situation during the past year have been the growth of the phonetic script and a national language, and the students' strikes and other student activities. The movement in favour of the phonetic script designed by the Chinese themselves on the initiation of the Chinese government is growing. The Committee on Phonetic appointed by the China Continuation Committee, which is working in conjunction with the Government, was able to report in April a circulation of over sixteen million pages of phonetic literature during the preceding year. Every elementary school is instructed to teach the 'national language' instead of or in addition to any dialect, the phonetic script being designed to secure uniform pronunciation. The old stilted classical style is being discarded and the use of what was called 'the spoken language' for newspaper work. The students' strikes, while they showed intense patriotism and called popular attention to corruption in the government, had some evil features and were a difficult problem for those in charge of schools. Apart from these two movements there have been other causes for encouragement. In Shansi the governor instituted widespread educational reforms; in Changteh (Hunan) General Feng has done similar work on a smaller scale; in

The Educational Situation

Amoy a wealthy Chinese has founded a new university. The Government has sent a commission to study methods of training teachers in America and other lands. Co-education is reported as being on the increase in China. Men and women are working together in the government university at Peking and elsewhere. The universities and colleges under mission auspices have been linked up by a conference of college presidents with a view to systematizing and standardizing missionary education. For the rest a quiet advance is reported from different centres.

Turning to other missionary work, a hopeful feature is the completion of the General Missionary Survey, which has claimed the services of a full-time secretary, and has been actively supported by the missionaries since 1918. Copies have not yet been available outside China, but it is confidently expected that this great work will be not only a means of education and inspiration for the Church in China but a storehouse of experience for those who are facing the problem of missionary survey in other fields.

General Missionary Survey

The General Survey will be presented at a National Christian Conference to be held at Shanghai in 1921. Preparations for this conference are engaging the attention of the China Continuation Committee. China is to furnish 1000 delegates, of whom about half are to be elected by the Chinese churches, one for each thousand communicants. Delegates are also invited from America and Great Britain. One of the main topics for consideration will be the form in which the central organization for missionary co-operation in China should be cast. Much expectation centres round this conference. Prayer is needed that it may be the means of unifying missionary forces at a time when divisive tendencies would imperil the life of the Chinese Church, and that it may inaugurate a new day of well-directed evangelistic advance.

National Christian Conference

In view of the advance made possible by the successful

centenary campaign in America, the Methodist Episcopal Church held an important conference at Peking in January 1920. An extensive programme was adopted and committees appointed to see it through. The establishment of institutional churches in addition to an expansion of direct evangelization, the development of vocational schools and the appointment of supervisors for primary schools in a large area, and the addition to theological training of instruction in agricultural production and rural economics, in order that pastors may be able to meet the material needs of their people, were amongst the distinctive proposals approved. In the same month a conference on women's work was held in Shanghai, where representatives of the Federation of Women's Boards in the U.S.A. met with missionaries, mainly women, representing twenty-one mission boards working in ten provinces. Careful work was done and recommendations carried as to the place of women in mission organizations and in the Church, and on the women's point of view on moral questions and home life, social service and education.

Two Mission Conferences

At the joint meeting of the China Medical Missionary Association and the National Medical Association held in February in the three buildings already completed for the Union Medical School at Peking, Dr Harold Balme presented the results of an inquiry into the scientific efficiency of mission hospitals in China.[1] Action taken by the conference will probably lead to the inclusion of courses on public health and social service in school curricula. The corner-stone of a new hospital was laid at Soochow in May, two-thirds of the money needed being given by the Methodist Episcopal Board and the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, the remaining third to be raised in China. A memorial gift of £10,000 has been given to enable the Moukden Medical College to open a department for training women doctors.

Medical Work

German missions, debarred from their former fields,

[1] See p. 136 for summary and review.

are expanding work in China. The Basel Mission in December 1919 sent out four men and four women (of these one pastor and one sister died), and since then others have followed. In June the Berlin Mission arranged to send out a similar party. The Brekklum Mission have taken over from the Kieler China Mission their stations in Pakhoi and the hinterland. The North German Mission has arranged with the Rhenish Mission to co-operate in their South China fields. The Barmen China Alliance Mission has on the invitation of the China Inland Mission taken over the evangelization of three new districts in the province of Chekiang. The Nyassabund of the Berlin Mission and the Berlin Society for Medical Missions, formerly working in East Africa, are looking to new fields of work in Kwantung province in connexion with the Berlin Mission. Also the Morgenländischen Frauenverein, the Berlin Frauenverein, and the Hildesheimer Blindenmission are arranging to co-operate with the existing German missions in Kwantung province.

German and Swiss Missions

At Kuling in August, after some special meetings, a Bible Union of China was formed with the purpose of emphasizing the conservative view of biblical and theological teaching. A statement, signed by between one and two hundred missionaries, was issued and a committee was appointed to carry on the movement.

Bible Union of China

Among other missionary matters may be mentioned the opportunity for evangelistic missions both among men and women; the marked increase in self-support by Christian congregations in Manchuria and other parts of China; the persecution suffered by the Christian tribesmen which has led to a large decrease of baptisms; the publication of the Scriptures in the national script of China and also in Dr Peill's script, which enables even the ignorant to learn to read Chinese without much difficulty; the formation of a new tract society on the Chinese border of Tibet for publication

Other Missionary Matters

work in the Tibetan language, which has issued nine tracts and a catechism; and the serious financial situation caused by the fact that the rate of exchange is 20 per cent higher in 1920 than in the previous year.

III. BRITISH INDIA AND CEYLON

THE year 1920 opened with high promise. The preceding December had witnessed the passing of the Government of India Act based on the declared policy of developing self-governing institutions in India with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government, and granting immediately a substantial measure of self-government by the transfer of important subjects to the control of Indian ministers responsible to elected legislatures.[1] It was possible to entertain the hope of steady and orderly progress along the path of self-government, of the gradual growth of the people of India in freedom and responsibility, and of a worthy fulfilment of the high task and mission of Great Britain in India.

Hopes Deferred

These fair prospects were unhappily clouded by events which had occurred in the preceding year. Political unrest and disturbances in the Panjab led to stern measures of repression by the authorities and to the shooting of a large number of people at Amritsar. For some time little information outside India regarding the occurrence was available, but in India itself a passionate feeling of resentment was growing up and assumed increasing proportions. The Government appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter, which issued Majority and Minority Reports, the latter signed by the three Indian members, and the Secretary of State issued a dispatch in which the Cabinet repudiated em-

Political Unrest

[1] The subjects transferred to Indian ministers include local self-government, medical administration, public health, education, agriculture, development of industries, excise and various public works. It will be observed that these subjects are the ones in which missions are most directly interested.

phatically the doctrine upon which General Dyer had based his action in the shooting at Amritsar, and asserted the fundamental variance of his conception of duty from that which His Majesty's Government had a right to expect. While not satisfying Indian sentiment, the pronouncement might have done something to ease the situation had it not been for the numerous public expressions of sympathy with General Dyer, and for a debate in the House of Lords in which the motion was passed that the House deplored the conduct of the case of General Dyer as unjust to that officer, and as establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order in face of rebellion. The strength of Indian feeling remained unabated. The situation was further complicated by the delay in drawing up the Turkish Treaty, and the consequent uncertainty as to the position of the Caliphate.

Policy of Non-Co-operation

After months of increasing propaganda in which Hindu support was given to the Mohammedan attitude on the Caliphate question, a policy of 'non-co-operation' with the existing government was approved at a special meeting of the Indian National Congress held in September at Calcutta. The main planks in the programme were the surrender of titles and honorary offices, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges aided or controlled by Government, the gradual boycott of the British courts by lawyers, the withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election in the reformed councils, and the refusal of electors to vote for any candidate who should offer himself for election. While a large amount of practical support has been given to Mr Gandhi's policy, the latest information seems to indicate a reaction against extreme measures. As this survey is written before the elections have taken place, it is not possible to form an estimate of the actual results of the non-co-operation policy. What is unhappily beyond doubt is that the reforms with which the year opened will have to be worked out under far greater difficulties than had been antici-

pated, in an atmosphere charged with bitter feeling and mistrust.

Missionary Problems

The events of the year have raised problems of great perplexity for missionaries, who have been severely criticized by Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, for failing to be sufficiently outspoken in their condemnation of the action of the authorities in the Panjab. From the nature of the case it has been open only to missionaries of British nationality to express publicly any comment on the situation. Some have felt it to be their duty to protest publicly against the methods adopted for the suppression of the unrest as inflicting a grievous stain on British rule, and against the attitude of mind from which they sprang as being fundamentally opposed to the Christian spirit. The majority of missionaries, either as the result of a different reading of the events or from a feeling that they should abstain from interference in political affairs, have refrained from any public pronouncement. A further example of the difficulties of the situation is seen in the criticism that has been evoked in Young Men's Christian Association circles in India by the frank discussion of public questions in the editorial columns of *The Young Men of India*.[1] The problems with which Indian Christians and foreign missionaries have found themselves confronted in India are an illustration of the difficulties, experienced in a growing degree throughout the mission field, which have to be overcome when the attempt is made to bring national policies to the test of Christian standards and which are specially acute when national and racial relations become strained.

Labour Unrest

The tension prevalent in the political and religious world is no less apparent in the world of labour, where passive acquiescence in the *status quo* is rapidly giving way to organized protest. The rude shock of war, the rising flood of nationalism, the increasing cost of living, the demand for increased opportunities for

[1] *Young Men of India*, 1920 (July), pp. 391–4.

living the good life, the growing solidarity of labour throughout the world, have hurried India on to the battle-ground of industrial war. Between January 2 and March 3, a period of about sixty-two days, 124 strikes took place; in the engineering and allied trades alone some 240,000 men took part from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

The Social Conscience

Happily, in the midst of all the unrest, there is evidence of the stirring of the social conscience. In certain parts of India increasing thought is being bestowed on the conditions in which employees carry on their work. A government Report[1] says: 'It is satisfactory to notice that the small section of reformers who see clearly the great importance of social reorganization is steadily becoming more influential as the years go on. Perhaps more satisfactory still . . . is the increasing amount of solid, if unostentatious, work which is actually being performed. Such institutions as the Society of the Servants of India and the Seva Samiti are now well to the fore on all occasions of public distress.' And one of the best known of Indian missionaries writes that what impressed him most on his return to India after furlough was the advance in social reform, and the enthusiasm for social service for the benefit of others that inspired Hindus and Mohammedans as well as Christians.

Educational Statistics

An illuminating statement regarding the disparity between elementary and higher education in India is given in the Report to which reference has been made.[2] While only 2·9 per cent of the population is undergoing elementary education of any kind, in secondary schools no less than ·5 per cent of the population is under instruction—a figure which compares very favourably with the ·6 per cent of England and Wales. If the Indian male population alone is reckoned, the rate is ·3 per cent greater in India than

[1] *Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year* 1919, p. 128. (Cmd. 950.) 1920.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 130.

in this country. In regard to university education the figures are still more surprising. Considering that the female ratio is almost negligible, India's ·026 per cent compares favourably with the ·054 of England and Wales. 'In the case of single tracts like Bengal, it is found that with a population approximately equal to that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is almost ten times as great as in England.'

The creation of new universities as well as plans for reform testify to an increasing appreciation of education.

Universities

Four such foundations have received statutory authorization during the year. The Aligarh Muslim University Act provides for a teaching and residential university open to all, but with the impartation of religious education to Muslims and the inclusion of departments of Islamic studies. The Dacca Act has set up a teaching residential and unitary university on lines recommended by the Sadler Commission, and like provision has been made by the Rangoon Act. The most thoroughgoing application of the Sadler scheme has been in the United Provinces, where an Act has been passed to set up a university of the new type at Lucknow. The great states of Mysore and Hyderabad have their own universities, the latter making Urdu the medium of instruction.

A new principle has been introduced in educational administration in British India by the Madras Elementary

Madras Education Act

Education Act, which transfers supervision from the Education Department and entrusts it to district educational councils elected *ad hoc*. The Act is also more definite than those of other provinces in respect of compulsion, which can be applied to all children of school age, or to boys or girls only, where and when the demand is made, subject to the sanction of Government and a declaration of readiness to levy the educational tax provided for in the measure. If and when

this is enforced in any area, fees are to be abolished in the elementary schools, but the local authority shall pay compensation for any loss of income which may be caused by such remission of fees to elementary schools under private management. On the subject of the conscience-clause, the Act embodies a compromise. In single-school areas, where ten guardians of children apply for exemption, the manager of the school shall exempt from religious instruction all children whose guardians make a written request to that effect. If within the time prescribed the manager fails to enter into such an agreement, an elementary school in the neighbourhood shall be established, the grant-in-aid of the recognized school imparting religious instruction not being affected.

Compulsory Education

Acts permitting the introduction of compulsion in the elementary sphere are now on the Statute Books of no less than six provinces, Madras having recently adopted the principle first laid down in Bombay and thereafter followed by Bengal, the United Provinces, the Panjab and Bihar and Orissa.

New Educational Control

The considerable legislation referred to above as included in the work of the year was the last to be passed by the councils under the reform schemes of a dozen years ago; henceforth education in the provinces will be in the hands of Indian ministers, responsible to large legislatures with an overwhelmingly strong elective proportion and who cannot remain in office if they forfeit the confidence of their respective parliaments. In these circumstances it will be more than ever necessary to understand and consider in missionary policy the Indian outlook on this field of endeavour, now recognized by the Indian leaders to have so vital a relation to the work of nation-building.

While August 1919 saw the publication of the Calcutta Commission Report which foreshadowed fundamental changes in the higher branches of the educational system, August 1920 has produced the Report on Village

Education [1] of the Commission sent out by mission boards in Great Britain and America, which, according to Sir Michael Sadler, the President of the Calcutta Commission, 'is quite as important as if it has been set up by Government.' Taken together the two reports cover the whole range of the outstanding problems of Indian education. Sir Michael Sadler's article on 'Village Education in India' in the October number of this Review gave an able summary and interpretation of the report of the missionary Commission. Missionary bodies on the field and at the home base in America and Great Britain are giving careful consideration to the far-reaching proposals made in the Report.

Commission on Village Education

A report presented by the Bishop of Dornakal, convener of the Committee on the Indian Church, at the meeting of the National Missionary Council in October 1919, cited evidence to show that some advance is being made in the transfer of whole departments of work from the mission to the church organization; in the assignment of the administration of special areas entirely to Indians; and particularly in the appointment of Indians to responsible posts hitherto held by missionaries. But in view of the larger measures of devolution granted by the Government and the strong set of opinion towards the development of a Church which shall be distinctively Indian in character, the present ratio of progress is by an influential section of Indian Christians held to be inadequate. The subject is constantly in evidence in the Indian Christian press. Articles containing careful surveys of the situation and constructive proposals have appeared during the year in the Review.[2]

Relation of Church an Mission

The January number of the Review recorded the steps taken in South India towards church union. As a result of proposals made at Tranquebar [3] and in anticipation of

[1] *Village Education in India.* Oxford University Press. 5s. net. Indian Edition, paper boards, Rs. 1.8.

[2] See IRM, 1920 (Jan.), pp. 69–80; (April), pp. 229–46; (Oct.), pp. 552–69.

[3] IRM, 1920 (Jan.), pp. 35–6; 145–50.

the Lambeth Conference, a conference was held at Bangalore in March, where Anglicans and members of the South India United Church met for further discussion. Two informal but important meetings were held at Kodaikanal in May. In the same month the Bangalore Continuation Conference formulated a series of proposals. The momentous utterance of the Lambeth Conference on the question of reunion bears closely upon the situation in South India, but reports of the reaction of those directly concerned with its provisions have not been received as yet, though correspondence is appearing in the Indian press. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church has made no official pronouncement yet in regard to the church union scheme.

Church Union

Permanent bodies for the consideration of current questions, religious and social, are finding a larger place in Christian life in India. The Bangalore Continuation Conference, started in 1916 to provide opportunity for corporate thought and fellowship, discussed at its fourth session in May 1920 the relation between Yoga practice and Christian life. As an outcome of the previous meeting, a series of articles, based on an inquiry issued by the conference, on the missionary methods of Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism have been appearing in the *Christian Patriot*. A Christian Conference, with an Indian president and an English secretary, was inaugurated in Madras in March 1920 to study and make clear to others the true Christian attitude to the life of the community in all its forms, municipal, social, industrial, educational and religious, and to keep in touch with Christian thought throughout the world. Groups of members make studies preliminary to the general meeting which is held thrice a year. In Travancore the Christians connected with the London Missionary Society have formed an Improvement League, the primary aim of which is to benefit the educational condition of the community.

Agencies for Discussion and Study

National Missionary Council

The National Missionary Council was in session at Calcutta from November 11 to 16, but a report of its proceedings is not available at the time of writing.

Christian Literature

A critical time has come as regards the provision of Christian literature for India. An extensive survey of all Christian literature available in the vernacular was prepared and published under the auspices of the Committee on Christian Literature appointed by the National Missionary Council. In March 1920 a fully revised *Programme of Advance* was issued by the same body, after conference with missionary experts and careful testing of each proposal made. The minimum amount asked for is an annual grant of Rs. 70,400, to provide for the expenses of a half-time organizing secretary, for an editor for Christian literature for English-reading Indians, for literature secretaries in the Marathi, Telugu and Gujarati areas, for literary assistants in nine vernacular areas (Rs. 21,000 annually for workers), the balance of the sum asked for being grants for publications in fourteen languages. This programme is receiving careful and sympathetic consideration from the missionary conferences and mission boards in America and Great Britain.

Medical Missions

There is a disquieting decrease of medical missionaries holding British degrees. In January 1914 there were 451, in 1920 there were 368—a decrease of 83. Urgent appeals for recruits are being issued by the missionary societies. It has been of substantial assistance to medical missions that the Indian Government has authorized the supply to all mission hospitals in India and Burma of supplies from the Government Medical Stores Department at the rate prescribed for civil government institutions.

Among other matters of interest may be mentioned the progress of mass movements in Sindh, the villages round Delhi, the Haiderabad district and other parts of India; the conference held at Kedgaon in August under the

auspices of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions in which representatives of nine Christian bodies took part and far-reaching recommendations were made in regard to the Indian Church and its missionary activities, and the educational and economic problems of the Indian Christian community; the proposals for the formation of a Christian *ashram* on genuinely Indian lines which have been put forward in Western India; the offer of nine young Indians connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church to give themselves to missionary service, preferably in Mesopotamia; the development of plans for training leaders for the work of religious education and Sunday schools; the decision of the Wesleyan Mission to open an institution at Medak to train village evangelists and teachers for work in mass movement areas; the decision of the South Indian Missionary Association, with a view to avoiding unnecessary multiplication of organizations, to bring its existence to a close, transferring the greater part of its valuable work to the Madras Representative Council of Missions; the preparation of an important statement on the requirements and work of American and some other missions, by a small committee appointed at the instance of the Interchurch World Movement of North America; the encouraging increase in the work of the religious tract and book societies; the formation of troops of Boy Scouts in many parts of India; the opening by the Indian Y.W.C.A. of a residential training centre in Calcutta for secretaries recruited in India, Burma and Ceylon; and the promising inauguration in London of a hostel for Indian and British students under the auspices of the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.A. The National Missionary Society of India, in view of the close relations now established with the Representative Councils of Missions and other missionary bodies, has decided that the representation of European missionaries on the executive committee shall be dropped.

Other Matters of Interest

Burma not having been included in the sphere of the

new Government of India Act, a special constitution, granting increased powers of local self-government, has been prepared by the Government of India and at the time of writing is still under consideration. Considerable dissatisfaction is felt in Burma as to the proposals in the provisional scheme as announced in August.

Burma

Ceylon

It was officially announced in July that changes in the constitution of Ceylon were in contemplation with a view to increasing popular control by allowing a larger number of elected members in the Legislative Council and giving a substantial majority to the unofficial over the official vote. The measure, as appears from a debate in the House of Commons on August 11, is regarded by the Colonial Office as preliminary to wider reform.

Constitutional Reform

The education law of Ceylon was consolidated and in some important respects amended by an Ordinance (No. 1 of 1920) passed into law before the recent constitutional reforms were announced. The Education Department, supervised by a Director of Education, is assisted by a Board of Education now being created. While the board is neither an administrative nor executive body, it has considerable advisory powers, and can make regulations dealing with elementary and secondary education. Such regulations, known as 'The Code,' are to be laid before the Legislative Council, to be passed, amended or disallowed as the Council sees fit. The Code enunciates the right of the director, assistant director and any inspecting officer of the department, and of the chairman of any district committee within his area, to enter and inspect any elementary school. In regard to religious education, the general lines of the 1906 Ordinance are followed, parents having the right to withdraw their children from religious observance or instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

Education

All-Ceylon Conference

The All-Ceylon Conference has been affiliated with the National Missionary Council of India under the title of the Ceylon Representative Council of Missions.

IV. EGYPT AND THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Political Readjustments

During the year the whole area of the Near and Middle East has been in upheaval. Lines of settlement are slowly emerging in some of the territories concerned, but in regard to others no satisfactory solution is yet in sight.

Egypt

The political agitation which led to the rebellion and the prevalence of strikes in Egypt has been partially allayed by the conversations between the heads of the Nationalists and Lord Milner's Commission. A tentative agreement was reached, the main point in which was the recognition of Egyptian independence. Subsequently the Egyptian Nationalist Delegation visited London to continue the discussion further. Although little definite information is available, there is unfortunately reason for believing that the smooth progress of negotiations has been arrested. Meanwhile the delegation has returned to Egypt to consult opinion there. The whole situation is clouded in uncertainty, which will not be clarified until the communication of the Milner Report to the Government, when the subject will be discussed in Parliament.

Education

The administration in the future will be called to face educational problems of great magnitude. The Government Report on Education in Egypt (1920) shows the inadequacy and inefficiency of the present system as exemplified in the negligible increase of literacy—two per cent in ten years; in the progressive deterioration in the quality of work done by scholars—seen most clearly in private schools; and in the declining number of students in training colleges. The Report is a stimulating challenge to mission schools. The situation in

regard to education in the Sudan is much more encouraging. The American University in Cairo, under the able direction of Dr Charles R. Watson, is opening this year its College of Arts and Sciences as the first instalment of the larger scheme. An unprecedented number of Egyptians are studying in European universities. Egyptian women are also awakening to interests outside their homes.

Work of Missions

In the autumn the American and British missions in Egypt and the Coptic Church arranged a series of special meetings for Moslems and Christians led by Dr Sherwood Eddy. Increasing opportunities for work among Moslems are reported. An advisory intermission council has been formed with a view to providing a recognized medium between the missions and the local government and the intermission committees in Europe and America. The Nile Mission Press reports a circulation of Christian literature in advance of pre-war years. In the Anglican Church Egypt and the Sudan have been made into a separate diocese.

Turkey

Passing from Africa to Europe and Asia, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey was signed at Sèvres on August 10, but has not yet been formally ratified. By this treaty Turkey abandons the administration of a considerable area in Asia Minor, including Smyrna and the adjacent districts, which come under the control of Greece, and recognizes Armenia as a free and independent state. Provisional recognition is given to the independence of Syria and Mesopotamia; Turkey agrees that Palestine be administered by a mandatory responsible for the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and accepts a scheme of local autonomy for Kurdistan. The articles of this treaty by which, *inter alia*, the forced conversions to Islam during the war are cancelled and civil and political rights are secured without distinction of race, language or religion, together with articles from the Tripartite Agreement respecting Anatolia, will be found

elsewhere in this number.[1] The centennial of American missions in Turkey was celebrated during the year. The formation of a committee in New York to standardize and develop the work of missionary institutions in the Near East is noticed on p. 51.

Armenia

Armenia, released from the tyranny of Turkish rule, remains as yet unshepherded by any of the larger nations. Neither the United States nor any European power having accepted a mandate, the League of Nations has been requested to take Armenia under its protection. President Wilson has been asked to arbitrate as to the boundaries of the territory which have not been delimited yet. Meantime massacres continue and the hostilities of the Turkish Nationalists are unabated. It is stated that since the armistice 25,000 Armenians have been massacred. There is no more urgent question before the Assembly of the League of Nations than the safety and welfare of the new Armenian state.

Syria

In Syria political changes have taken place in rapid and sometimes disquieting sequence. At the moment of writing the Arab state instituted under Emir Feisul with France as mandatory power has been brought to a close by a French ultimatum; the Emir is a fugitive and a new government has been formed which accepts among other conditions the French occupation of Aleppo and the use of French as the official language. The Great Lebanon has been proclaimed a state and its frontiers defined.[2] The position of missionary institutions, whether American or British, under the French mandate in Syria has not yet been defined, but indications that fair status and opportunities for carrying on the work will be accorded have been noted. The United Missionary Conference of Syria and Palestine is proving of value. The inadequate

[1] 'Acts and Public Documents bearing on the Work of Christian Missions,' p. 121. By a treaty with Greece, the religious rights of minorities, including those of Moslems in the territory under Greek control, are recognized.

[2] In the north, the Dahr-el-Chodib; south, the Palestine frontier; east, the coast; west, the heights of anti-Lebanon.

manning of Damascus as a missionary centre is serious in view of the new situation.

Palestine

In April 1920 the mandate for Palestine, the boundaries of which have not yet been finally announced, was allotted to Great Britain. The year has been one of unrest and uncertainty, Moslems and Christians combining together to withstand the Jews and especially the Zionists.[1] A serious riot occurred in Jerusalem at Easter. Under the first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, the country is, however, settling down and civil administration has been established. Complete religious liberty is safeguarded.

Education and Missions

The educational policy of the new administration, and also the Zionist plans, lay a fresh emphasis upon the need for efficiency in mission schools. This can only be attained by the co-operation of the missions concerned. The government examiners reported in July 1920 that the training work done in the Girls' High School in Jerusalem—in the management of which four societies co-operate—was equal to the Diploma in Education granted by English universities. Similar co-operation has been begun in the College for Men in Jerusalem, which before the war belonged to one society and is now being financed and controlled by three. The standard of work in mission hospitals is also being revised.

Jerusalem Diocese

The Jerusalem diocese has been divided, Bishop MacInnes retaining jurisdiction over Syria, Palestine, Cyprus and part of Asia Minor; Egypt and the Sudan henceforth constituting, as already noted, a separate diocese.

Mesopotamia

In Mesopotamia instead of having the goodwill of the Arabs, Great Britain as mandatory has been faced by hostile Arab forces and a growing casualty list. The clouds as yet show no gleam of light. The Church Missionary Society has decided to close its mission in Mesopotamia.

[1] See p. 47.

Persia

During the year Persia has been a battle-ground, British, Russian (royalist) and Persian troops being employed against the Bolshevist forces. The indecisive struggle has induced a state of war-weariness among the majority of the Persian people. The Anglo-Persian Agreement (August 1919) still awaits ratification by the Persian parliament (Mejliss). Notwithstanding the disturbances the desire for education is marked, and a great opportunity is open before mission schools.

V. AFRICA

West Africa

Self-Determination

Movement in the direction of self-determination is reported from West Africa. In March delegates from the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia met at Accra and formed a National Congress of British West Africa. The Congress, while welcoming the connexion of the West African dependencies with the British Empire, passed resolutions asking for an effective voice in legislation and in municipal government. A deputation has been sent to represent the views of the Congress to the British Government.

International Commission on Education

Under the joint auspices of the foreign mission boards of North America and Great Britain, and with the generous co-operation of the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a commission is spending one year in investigating the educational work carried on in West and South Africa. The Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr Jesse Jones, and with the assistance, among others, of Mr Aggrey, a West Coast African educated in America, and, for part of the tour, of the Rev. W. A. Wilkie of the Gold Coast, hopes to assist the missionary societies in the formulation of plans to meet the educational needs of the native races, and will make available to the

co-operating missions the full results of their study. The Commission, which began its work in August, is visiting Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Cameroons, the Belgian Congo, Angola and also South Africa.

Gold Coast

In the Gold Coast the Government is contemplating a great advance in educational work. The most significant feature in the Report of a Special Committee on Education is the universal demand by the African members for a wider and better system of education. The Governor in a speech at the Legislative Council in February 1920 condemned the educational system as long out of date and in urgent need of drastic reform, and foreshadowed the reorganization of the Education Department, the provision of better training and payment for teachers, reform in the primary schools, introduction of secondary education and industrial schools, wider extension of the present technical education and the boarding school system, and better education for women. The expenditure involved in the carrying out of these reforms will be met, it is hoped, from the anticipated increase in the revenue. The recommendations of a committee—on which missions were represented—appointed by the Governor in March 1920 make it plain that profound alterations will have to be made in the educational work of missions, and particularly in the training of teachers and catechists. New buildings for the compulsory four years' training course will have to be built, and an increased highly qualified European staff will be required for the direction and supervision of the educational work necessitated by the progress of the Gold Coast. The United Free Church of Scotland which, as recorded in previous surveys, has assumed responsibility for the work of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, has temporarily undertaken the oversight of the two Bremen mission stations in the Gold Coast Colony.

The mandatory power for more than two-thirds of Togoland is France, the remainder being under the British

mandate.[1] The exact terms of the mandate, together with those for the Cameroons and former German East Africa, have not yet been announced. Nothing has so far been done to provide for the carrying on of the work of the Bremen or North German Missionary Society, which has built up a strong and well-established mission in what was formerly German Togo. The work of the mission now falls within three different political divisions. Two of the stations were in the Gold Coast Colony; of the remaining eight in Togo, four fall within the British and four within the French mandated territory. It has been impossible thus far to find any mission to assume responsibility for this work. The work in Togo has been left for several years in the hands of the native pastors, the only European missionary being the Rev. Ernst Bürgi, who has completed his fortieth year in West Africa, and who, notwithstanding the heavy strain to which he has been subjected, has nobly refused to leave his post until reinforcements can be sent. There are few parts of the mission field where help is more urgently needed. In May, the station at Lome, the headquarters of the Bremen Mission, celebrated its semi-jubilee.

Togoland

Material prosperity has prevailed in Nigeria. The extension of trade and industry can be gauged from the fact that while in 1900 the value of British trade was about 3½ millions sterling—a figure more than trebled in 1913—in 1918, despite the set-back caused by the war and the loss of about £1,120,000 from duties on trade spirits, the value had reached 17 millions—the highest ever recorded. The amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the extension of the railways, the discovery of coal and the use of local products have

Nigeria

[1] The area of which France is in charge includes the whole of the coast of Togoland, with the ports of Lome, Segura and Little Popo, the existing railways and a new route to the Niger. Britain is the mandatory power for the lower Volta, the lower course of the Oti, and in the hinterland that part of the 'neutral zone' which was divided between Britain and Germany in 1899. The frontier now corresponds closely with tribal boundaries, the Dagomba, for example, who hitherto have owed a divided allegiance, coming wholly under British control.

contributed to the wealth and potentialities of the country.[1] The question of missionary liberty has been raised in the House of Commons, where the Under Secretary of State, Lieutenant-Colonel Amery, stated that it is the desire of Government that, except in Moslem districts, the educational and Christianizing work of missionaries should continue. While the restrictions on work among Moslems remain, recent reports from the field show that certain of the difficulties which missionaries have experienced in opening new work in pagan areas are in process of being overcome. Owing to expansion of the work during the twenty-five years of Bishop Tugwell's service, the diocese of Western Equatorial Africa has been sub-divided, the western part being called Lagos. The assistant bishops of the two dioceses are Africans.[2]

Education

Sir F. B. Lugard's *Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria* bears testimony to the 'predominant' part played by educational missions and the great debt the southern provinces owe to them. The Report deprecates the unsatisfactory state of education conducted by government, missionary and private enterprise which the Educational Code of 1916 is intended to bring to an end, and welcomes the favourable reception given to the new Education Ordinances by missions.[3] Arrangements have been made during the year for training schoolmasters as well as catechists at St Andrew's College, Oyo, and for the enlargement of the Girls' Seminary at Lagos.

[1] Report by Sir F. B. Lugard on *The Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration*, 1912–1919. Published 1920. Paras. 67, 82, 135, 146, 150.

[2] In the C.M.S. Mission the group of 32 English missionaries has grown to 78, of 20 African clergymen to 72 and of 115 lay helpers to 772, while the native contributions have risen from £2907 to £42,353, the native church in the southern provinces assuming responsibility for bearing the cost of native agency.

[3] The first principle of the Code is that the primary object of all schools should be the formation of character and habits of discipline. Among its immediate aims are the facilitation of co-operation between government and non-government educational agencies, the appointment of schools committees, the giving of grants in proportion to the tone of the school and efficiency of the staff as well as to the percentage of marks obtained in examinations, and the introduction of moral instruction.

France has been entrusted with the mandate for the greater part of the Cameroons, including the Cameroon estuary and nine-tenths of the rest of the country.[1] The work of the Basel Mission has been transferred to the Paris Evangelical Society. Notwithstanding great difficulty an heroic effort has been made by M. Allegret and his colleagues to meet the demands of the work. Twenty-one missionaries have been sent out, eleven of these going in 1920. Five stations of the Basel Mission fall within the comparatively small strip of the Cameroons assigned to Great Britain. For this work no provision has yet been made. The work of the German Roman Catholics has since the outbreak of the war been carried on by French Roman Catholics. The American Presbyterians, who have a strong mission in the Cameroons, are sending their missionary reinforcements for linguistic study in France.

Cameroons

In French Congo new fields are opening up before the Swedish society already at work there. A second Swedish society has applied for permission to establish stations in French Congo, and there seems no reason to fear that the application will be refused by the Government, which has shown itself friendly to the work done by the Swedish missions. The Congo Continuation Committee has decided to hold the 1921 Conference at Brazzaville at the invitation of the Swedish Mission and with the permission of the French authorities. A suggestion from the French Governor-General that the United Missionary Industrial Exhibition be amalgamated with the Colonial Exhibition at Brazzaville in 1921 has been accepted as an opportunity for manifesting the loyal cooperation of Protestant missions with the governments.

French Congo

The Report of the Belgian Commission[2] constituted to look after the protection of the natives and the improvement of the moral and material conditions of their

[1] This includes those regions of French Equatorial Africa annexed to the German colony after the Agadir crisis, with Duala, the principal port of entry.

[2] The Commission was appointed under Article 6 of the Belgian Congo Charter. Its work was suspended for seven years owing to the war.

existence has recently been issued. It shows the rapid depopulation of the country, principally caused by sleeping sickness and certain hitherto unknown diseases introduced by Europeans. The population has been reduced by one-half since the terrritory came under European occupation. The Government, acting in accordance with the Commission's recommendations to take immediate steps to preserve the population, has granted substantial assistance in money, medicine and microscopic apparatus to missions engaged in medical work, and particularly in combating the sleeping sickness scourge. In other ways the Government of Congo Belge has shown sympathy with the work carried on by missionaries. A commission has been appointed to investigate Lingala as the medium of official communications with the natives.

Belgian Congo

The statistics of the Protestant missions for the year 1919 published in the *Congo Mission News* for July 1920 are encouraging, there being a total increase of native membership in one year of 17,000, in spite of the ravages of influenza and other epidemics.

Growth of Missions

Among the important matters dealt with at the Continuation Committee Conference at Stanley Pool were the earnest desire of the Congo Continuation Committee to co-operate with the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference and the unanimous finding that in addition to the proposed union hostel for missionaries at Kinshasa, now under consideration, there be set up at suitable places counter-attractions to the drinking-saloons by means of temperance refreshments, educational lectures, concerts, reading and quiet rooms, these being provided separately for Congo natives, Coast men and natives. The committee also recommended that the proposal to form a Mid-African Conference and Continuation Committee be placed before the next General Conference for consideration.

Congo Continuation Committee

The first embassy of the Baptist Missionary Society to the Congo led to the issue of a valuable report. Co-

operation in the formation of a common polity, in the production of one edition of the Bible and of polyglot school literature, in the founding of union missionary hospitals in the Lower Congo and in up-river work is urged. The report gives a list of the literature available in the eleven Congo languages in the area in which the American and British Baptists and the Swedish Mission are working. In view of the tension between British Protestant missions and Belgian and Portuguese Roman Catholics it is urged that all missionaries should have a good working knowledge of French or Portuguese before they go to the Congo. Medical preparation and, if possible, some kind of technical training are also invaluable to the Congo missionary.

A Noteworthy Report

In Portuguese Congo missionary work is little by little recovering from the serious set-back caused a few years ago by a revolution against the Portuguese. The recent deputation sent by the Baptist Missionary Society was much encouraged with the progress shown. A striking record of thirty years' work among Congo women centring round the B.M.S. Mission in San Salvador was published in the January (1920) number of the Review.

Portuguese Congo

East and Central Africa

The Swiss Mission Romande has had an encouraging year. Five native pastors have been ordained. The mission, which works also in the North Transvaal and in the Rand labour areas, shows an increase varying from 33 to 81 per cent when the statistics for 1914 and 1920 are compared. The South Africa General Mission has begun a large forward movement in memory of Dr Andrew Murray. Adverse reports as to the treatment of natives by the officials of the Mozambique Company led the Conference of Foreign Missions which met at New York in January 1920 to appoint a sub-committee to investigate matters. In some districts also

Portuguese East Africa

native Christians have been imprisoned and their Bibles burned.

Northern Rhodesia

In Northern Rhodesia the missionary bodies have been giving joint consideration to the Native Schools Proclamation and Regulations issued by the Government in 1919, which appeared to threaten an undue amount of interference in the work of mission schools. Proposals for revision have been submitted to the administration and have been favourably received. The missions in Northern Rhodesia, in common with other mission fields in Central Africa, are suffering severely from lack of reinforcement. The Bishop of Northern Rhodesia has, however, secured six men for his depleted staff.

Nyasaland

In Nyasaland the Government have proposed to increase the education grant from £1000 to £5000, at the same time demanding higher educational standards. A clause in the memorandum stating that 'special provision may be required in respect of schools for Mohammedans where there are no endowments or funds available for assistance, as with schools established by the Christian missions,' has led the missionary societies to urge the maintenance by Government of a strictly impartial policy in education. In West Nyasa native associations have, with the approval of the Government, been formed by leading and progressive natives for the discussion of civil questions. Mission teachers, leading government natives and some chiefs compose the association. The minutes are sent to the Government. A beginning is thus being made in training leaders for responsible citizenship. The outlook has distinctly improved in regard to the Christian community, which a year ago showed an alarming declension in tone, reverting in many cases to heathen practices. The unsettlement produced by the war has now subsided; the censured parties are asking for pardon; church services are being better attended; the women are developing powers of leadership, and a deep religious movement is apparent in many districts.

Britain and Belgium are the mandatory powers for the former German East Africa, now to be known provisionally as Tanganyika Territory. Belgium is responsible for the provinces of Ruanda and Urundi, with the exception of the eastern strip of the province of Ruanda and a small part of Urundi, of which Britain is in charge.[1] Kiongo passes to Portugal. Not much progress has been made in supplying the needs of the missions in Tanganyika Territory. There were seven German Protestant missions at work in this large area, the only non-German missions being the Universities' Mission, the Church Missionary Society and the Africa Inland Mission. The last German missionaries were repatriated in the course of the year. In the south the United Free Church of Scotland is attempting to care for the work of the Moravian and the Berlin Missions in the Neu Langenburg province. The Church of Scotland is endeavouring to give help in the Iringa province and is sending out several new workers. The Universities' Mission has undertaken the oversight of the stations in the Songea province.[2] The National Lutheran Council representing the Lutheran Churches in the United States has obtained permission from Lord Milner to send out a commission to study the needs of the Leipzig Mission in the northern part of the territory, with a view to assuming responsibility for its work. The English branch of the Moravian Church has obtained permission to take charge of the former German Moravian

Tanganyika Territory

[1] Some time must elapse before the new Anglo-Belgian frontier in the Tanganyika Territory is definitively delimited, as it depends in part on the line of railway to Uganda. The following is summarized from the French text of the Anglo-Belgian frontier agreement: The frontier starts from where the River Muvumba cuts the old Uganda German East Africa frontier, slopes south-west to Lake Mohasi, then passes south along the median line of Lake Mugesera and across Lake Seake. Still sloping southwards it follows the western boundary of Bugufi until the eastern boundary of the province of Urundi is struck, when it follows the eastern and southern boundaries of Urundi to Lake Tanganyika.

[2] Eighteen stations in this section of the Berlin field are still lying unsupervised, and the Directorate of the Berlin Mission has invited the Dutch Reformed Church to take control of them. The Board of the Dutch Reformed Church is seriously considering the unexpected invitation.

work in the neighbourhood of Tabora. The Africa Inland Mission is sending fresh reinforcements. But all these efforts taken together are quite inadequate to meet the needs of this great field.

Kenia Colony

British East Africa, hitherto a protectorate, has become by Order in Council a British colony, and is henceforth to be known as Kenia Colony. The change carries with it important consequences in the relationship between settlers and natives. The coastal strip remains a protectorate—the Kenia Protectorate—and forms, with the island of Mombasa, part of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Widespread misgiving was caused by the issue in the autumn of 1919 of a circular on native labour. A new Ordinance which followed in 1920 introduced a measure of compulsion for government work. The subject has been discussed in the Houses of Parliament. In June the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland addressed a letter to the Secretary of State protesting against the introduction of compulsory methods. At the time of writing the matter is still under consideration by the missionary societies, who are pressing for an inquiry to ascertain how far the present administrative practice is in harmony with the principle of trusteeship. There is an urgent call for a large development of native education, especially on technical lines, in which the administration is prepared to co-operate with the missions. The African congregations in Nairobi are steadily increasing. The Representative Council of the Allied Missions is planning a central training institution and a joint rescue home, and is considering questions of native labour and the increase of taxation.

Uganda

An encouraging account is given of the missionary work of the Uganda Church during the past year. A mass movement is in progress in Kavirondo, baptisms having increased fiftyfold since 1913. The first six candidates from the Maternity Training School received the government certificate for midwifery in

February 1920. The work of the Medical School at Mengo has been strengthened by a government grant.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the Australian branch of the Sudan United Mission has been asked by the Government to increase their staff, and permission has been given for extension into areas closed to Protestant missions. The Government has offered a capitation grant for children in the mission schools, and has invited one of the missionaries to act as government inspector of Christian schools.

Abyssinia

In Abyssinia although the political situation is insecure, the Swedish missionaries have been encouraged by the favourable attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities during the past year.

Eritrea

In Eritrea the Swedish Mission has been negotiating with the Italian Government with a view to re-establishing its work on at least the same scale as before the war. A deputation, whose request was strongly supported by the Swedish Foreign Office, waited upon the Colonial Office in Rome last July. Up to the date of writing the desired permission has not been given.

South Africa

The Native Affairs Act

The statute book, the economic world and the intangible but clearly discernible spirit of native self-consciousness have all been deeply influenced by the events of the past year. The most noteworthy event has been the passing by the Union Parliament of the Native Affairs Act, 1920, the first comprehensive Act regarding native affairs passed since the Union, and which is long overdue. The Act provides for the establishment of a Native Affairs Commission, which will be a permanent Board of Advice in all matters pertaining to the native affairs of the Union, and which will have not only advisory work but considerable powers. Provision is further made for the establishment of Native Councils for certain areas,

to which matters of local administration will be consigned in so far as they affect public work, agriculture and education. Sanction is given, under certain circumstances, for the convening by the Governor-General of conferences of chiefs, members of native councils and prominent natives, with a view to ascertaining the sentiments of the native population in regard to any measure affecting their interests.

Native Unrest

Growing recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the natives has been contemporaneous with widespread native unrest. In February from 30,000 to 40,000 Rand miners were on strike; the Pass Laws—which the Union Government admits are a fruitful source of irritation—the high cost of living and the low wage rate, the growing sense of nationality which leads to protests against the exploitation of the native for the white man's ends, the threatened reduction of the native reserves and the comparative failure of the Native National Congress deputation to Great Britain—all these have led to deep-seated unrest. Of this spirit the most serious and significant expression was the Lovedale outbreak in April, when the utmost violence reigned and a large amount of mission property was destroyed. As a result sentences of fines and imprisonment with hard labour were passed on 198 native lads. There seems no lack of justification for General Smuts' statement that the native is losing faith in white men, white education and white religion. This assertion is corroborated by the book on the *Black Problem* by Mr Jabavu, a London B.A. (son of the well-known Tengo Jabavu, editor of the native newspaper *Imvo*).[1]

In the educational world the findings of the Commission on Native Education in the Province of Good Hope, which are summarized elsewhere in this number,[2]

[1] Mr Jabavu says: 'Bolshevism and its Nihilistic doctrines are enlisting many natives up-country. Socialism of the worst calibre is claiming our people. They say that Christianity must be opposed; that we must fabricate a religion of our own. Christianity is the white man's religion, which must be uprooted; we must unite to compass our freedom, opposing the white man tooth and nail.'

[2] See p. 118.

are already being acted upon, the Coloured and Native Educational Ordinance of 1920 giving to native teachers equal salary and status to that of European teachers of the same grade. An interesting development in the university world has been the inauguration by the University of the Cape of Good Hope of a School of African Life and Languages, which with its courses on phonetics and grammar should be of assistance to missionaries entering the country.

Education

The position of German missions has occupied much attention in the past year. The General Missionary Conference Executive unanimously expressed the hope that the Union Government would be able soon to remove the restrictions which still lay on the properties of German missionary societies; the Dutch Reformed Church has interested itself in an attempt to secure the return of certain repatriated German missionaries to their work in the south-west territory and in the removal of restrictions which rest upon the property of German missions within the Union; the feeling between missionaries of different nationalities is becoming considerably less strained; and the Moravian Missionary Society, after six and a half years' break, has been enabled to hold a Moravian Conference in Gnadental, South Africa. Reports from the societies are encouraging. The Transvaal Methodists in particular note an encouraging increase in the number of baptisms and the strengthening of self-support and native evangelism. In Basutoland and Barotsiland the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society is sorely handicapped by lack of funds and men.

Missions

A resolution was passed by the newly elected Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia in favour of the grant of responsible government to the territory. The outstanding feature of the year is the discussion that has surged round the subject of native land rights. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council denies the Chartered Company's claim to

Land in Southern Rhodesia

the commercial ownership of the entire land of South Rhodesia, but by conferring legal title on the Crown, still leaves unaffected the dispossession of the natives from the ownership of their lands. The eviction of 35,000 natives is proposed, and the eviction of still greater numbers is possible. This subject is dealt with elsewhere in this number of the Review by the Rev. A. S. Cripps.

The Missionary Conference

The Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference, held this year for the first time since the outbreak of war, discussed the question of native reserves, and while disassociating itself from many of the criticisms made upon the personnel and report of the Native Reserves Commission, urged that opportunity should be given for review of any cases where objections might have been made by officials of the Native Department against the recommendations of the Commission, and that definite areas outside the reserves be set apart where land might be purchased or leased by natives on individual tenure. The main features of a new government scheme for native industrial education were laid before the Conference, which expressed its readiness to co-operate with the Government.

South-West Protectorate

The Union of South Africa is charged under a mandate, the terms of which have not yet been announced, with the administration of the South-West Protectorate (formerly German South-West Africa). The Finnish Mission in Amboland has at the request of the Rhenish Society taken over their work and is now responsible for all the Ambo tribes.

Madagascar

The celebrations in connexion with the centenary of Christian missions in Madagascar have called attention to a striking chapter of missionary history.[1] Evangelistic zeal

[1] See an article in IRM, 1920 (Oct.), p. 570. The Paris Evangelical Mission has issued a careful survey : *Un Siècle de Mission Protestante à Madagascar.* See review, p. 151.

and pastoral work have been so far developed in some of the stations as to bring entire transference of the work to the native church within sight. Encouragement has been found in the impartial attitude of the new Governor towards missionaries. Misunderstanding regarding the Ordinance of 1913, which granted to authorized places of worship the right to make collections for charitable and religious purposes, has been cleared up, a satisfactory interpretation of the decree having been given.

The Centenary Year

Bible Translations

Five new versions of St Mark's Gospel have been issued in Africa, in Central Shilha for a tribe in Morocco, in Bena for 160,000 negroes near Lake Nyasa, in the Isoko dialect of Igabo for 12,500 people in Southern Nigeria, in Haya for 250,000 west of the Victorian Nyanza, and in Eleku for 2000 in the Belgian Congo. A Union Revision of the New Testament has been completed in Lomongo, noteworthy as the first union version on the Congo.

Five New Versions

VI. OTHER MISSION FIELDS

Dr Johannes Warneck has been sent out by the Rhenish Mission to take the oversight of the Batak Mission, which with a baptized membership of 190,000 is passing through a dangerous transition period owing to the sudden inrush of European civilization. The Utrecht Mission is transferring the work on the island of Halmahera, and part of the work in Dutch New Guinea, to the Basel Mission.

Dutch East Indies

Political changes of moment to missionary work have taken place in Oceania. German possessions in the Pacific south of the Equator, other than Samoa and Nauru, have been transferred under mandate to the Commonwealth of Australia, Nauru to the British

Oceania

Empire, Samoa to the Dominion of New Zealand and the German islands lying north of the Equator to Japan. At the time of writing the mandates have not been published. In Fiji there has been rioting and disturbance. All existing Indian indentures have been cancelled and arrangements are being made for such Indians as desire it to return to India. Government is also initiating social and educational reforms on behalf of the Indian population. In the Solomon Islands a technical college to teach native arts has been founded in connexion with the Anglican theological college at Maravovo. The Methodist Mission in the islands is being transferred by the General Conference in Australia to the Methodist Church in New Zealand. In Hawaii the centennial of the mission of the American Board has been celebrated with great rejoicings.

Papua

The Report of the Commission appointed in 1919 to inquire into a system of government for the former German colony in New Guinea has been published. Testimony is borne to the value of missions as agencies tending to peace and civilization. The development of vocational training for the natives is urged upon the Australian government. The Commissioners are divided as to questions of administration and as to the continuance of German missionaries, of whom, including Roman Catholics, there are 221 out of a total of 258 in the territory.

South America

The South American Missionary Society has launched a scheme for providing hostels in various mission centres where Indian Christians can be trained as evangelists to their own people.

Canadian Missions

The missions hitherto carried on by the Church Missionary Society among Indians and Eskimo have been transferred to the Anglican Church in Canada. At Easter a notorious breach between a body of Christian Tsimshean Indians and the C.M.S., which occurred more than thirty years ago, was healed by the return of the Indians to their old allegiance.

VII. THE JEWS

ENTHUSIASM has been aroused by the acceptance of the mandate for Palestine by Great Britain which carries with it the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people. At the meeting of the annual Zionist Conference in July, which included a crowded demonstration in the Albert Hall, twenty-eight countries were represented. It was agreed to convene a World Jewish Conference to act as an authoritative body on behalf of the Jewish people in all national affairs. Steps are being taken to raise a Palestine Settlement Fund of £25,000,000 from Jews throughout the world. The Zionists are, however, far from united in their aims, and there is a growing party who desire to further Jewish developments in Palestine as a branch of philanthropy rather than from nationalist sentiment.

Zionist Plans

Meantime, as has been previously noted,[1] there has been uneasiness in Palestine among Moslems and Christians alike. The new developments of Zionism have appeared to threaten the existing rights and liberties, both civil and religious, of the older inhabitants and even of the Palestinian Jews. The influx of immigrants has created suspicion and fear. The terms of the King's Message, read by the High Commissioner in various parts of Palestine, contain, however, an explicit assurance that the 'rights of every race and every creed' will be respected. The treaty with Turkey[2] also secures the appointment by the mandatory of a representative commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine, and enacts that 'nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.'

Zionism in Palestine

Missions to the Jews, which share to the full in the problems of finance and of lack of reinforcements common

[1] See p. 30. [2] See p. 121.

to all Christian missions, are hindered, especially in Eastern Europe, by the continuation of war conditions. Yet a ready hearing is accorded to the gospel message, and in Hungary there has been wonderful progress. The Reformed Church in Budapest, after careful testing of individual inquirers, baptized nearly 2000 in the year ending May 1920; a large number of the converts were men.

Missions to the Jews

Friendly transfer of work from one British mission to another in order to avoid overlapping has been a feature of the year. The Committee on Work among Jews appointed by the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has approached the authorities of the Baptist, Congregational and Wesleyan Methodist churches with a suggestion that official recognition be given to work among the Jews. A two-day conference, attended by representatives of twelve British societies engaged in Jewish work, was held in London in June. The need for an intermission training centre for workers among the Jews has been under consideration both in Great Britain and America.

Comity and Co-operation

VIII. THE HOME BASE

North America[1]

The Interchurch World Movement, which was discussed at some length in the April number of the Review,[2] dominated missionary outlook at the American home base during the earlier part of the year. In April the great 'financial drive' took place. High hopes had been engendered at home and in the mission field and preparations had been made on an unprecedented scale for the education of the Church by meetings and conferences, by advertisement and the use of

Interchurch World Movement

[1] The material in this section has in the main been contributed by leading mission board secretaries in North America.

[2] 'The Interchurch World Movement: Its Possibilities and Problems.' J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1920 (April), pp. 182–99.

the press, and by the publication in striking form of the results of an extensive survey. But the immediate result of the financial drive, which was designed to secure a total sum of about $350,000,000, created widespread disappointment. Contributions to many of the mission boards were largely augmented, but the response of 'friendly citizens' not yet in touch with any of the churches, who were asked to contribute $40,000,000, fell far short of expectations. Instead of the amount hoped for from this source only $3,000,000 were received. It was out of these extraneous gifts that the expenses of the Movement, already amounting to $8,000,000, were to be met. The mission boards who had underwritten these expenses therefore became liable for a deficit of over $5,000,000. The Movement as originally framed was closed down, but the question of its reorganization on sounder lines is under consideration. Some denominations, amongst them the United Presbyterian Church and the Reformed Church in the United States, recognize the service rendered by the Interchurch World Movement in furthering their enlarged denominational movements. Others, however, feel that their alliance with the Movement has cost them the support of elements of their constituency which were opposed to it. Almost all the American boards report an increase of receipts, but in many cases the increase has been inadequate to meet enlarged liabilities.

In many churches the tendency to centralize benevolences has increased. Some bodies have a common Board of Promotion and a common treasury, out of which the separate missionary boards receive an allotted sum and administer it. The opinion of missionary leaders is divided as to whether the desired simplification at the home base will be best attained by pooling interests and causes which differ widely in their character and claim.

Centralization of Benevolences

There is evidence that, though the experiences of the war have seared the mind of some, the temper and spirit which on the whole provide a hearing for the missionary

appeal are strong among younger men and women and that consciousness of their duty to the whole world has grown. The Presbyterian and Methodist boards are sending out a larger number of new missionaries than in any previous year.

Reinforcements

The Foreign Missions Conference, which will be meeting again as this number appears, had its twenty-seventh annual session in New York in January 1920. The Conference supported the proposals for holding an informal international missionary conference near Geneva, which have since taken effect. Among the subjects discussed, and in several cases relegated to further consideration by committees, were the political and governmental relation of missions, native leadership, union missionary enterprises, the finance of co-operative committees on the mission field and missionary allowances in relation to the high cost of living.

Foreign Missions Conference

There is a demand on the part of many men and women for a closer co-ordination between the work of women's boards and general boards in order to avoid a divided appeal to the churches, and confusion in the administration on the field. The question occupied a large place in the programme of the Foreign Missions Conference. A meeting was held in New York in May under the auspices of the Federation of Women's Boards to hear reports from the seven commissions appointed by the Federation to study women's work in Japan and China. A committee composed of representatives of all committees on union women's colleges in the Orient has been organized, and has planned a united campaign to raise funds for the union women's colleges in Tokyo, Peking, Nanking, Madras and Vellore. At the jubilee celebration of the oldest of the six Presbyterian women's foreign boards in Philadelphia in May, the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church was organized, uniting the six in one national organization.

Women's Boards

Among other matters of interest may be mentioned the

formation in New York of a Committee of Co-operation on American Education in the Near East to combine the interests of more than 500 American educational institutions in the old Ottoman Empire, including the Robert College at Constantinople, the American University at Beyrout and the Constantinople College for Girls; the initiation of a foreign missions board by the Christian Reformed Church and the special appeal for medical workers at the centenary of medical missions.[1]

Other Matters of Interest

The united financial campaign in Canada, which was apart from that of the Interchurch World Movement in the United States, met with marked success. The centenary of the Anglican Church in Canada was celebrated at Winnipeg in October. The missions of the C.M.S. among the Indians and Eskimo have been transferred, as already noted, to the Canadian Church, together with a gift of £25,000 for the upkeep of the work. The Presbyterian Church is seeking thirty-eight additional missionaries.

Canada

Great Britain

No survey of missions in the year 1920 can fail to record the meeting of the Lambeth Conference, attended by 250 bishops of the Anglican Communion, which met during July and August. Not only the fine utterances of the Report and the Encyclical Letter on international relations and on missionary policy and duty, but the proposals put forth regarding church union are bound to have far-reaching consequences at the home base and in the mission field.[2]

The Lambeth Conference

The financial situation among British missions reveals the need of discerning and courageous faith. The societies, with few exceptions, report a large increase of income. In several instances a record sum has been reached. Some special funds have been completed.[3]

Financial Situation

[1] See p. 143.

[2] For a review of the missionary aspect of the Lambeth Report, see p. 141.

[3] A striking instance of spontaneous giving was furnished by the Anglo-Catholic Congress, when £35,000 was given as a free-will offering by the members for work overseas.

But over against this is set the depreciation of value due to adverse exchange; soaring prices at home and in every mission field which compel the augmentation of salaries, alike for European and foreign staff; and the heavy increase of cost in travelling and printing, affecting all propaganda work. The situation, which is being effectively put before the Church by the mission boards, can only be met by a drastic cutting down of work both at home and abroad, or by greatly augmented contributions. Several appeals are current for a doubling of the record income of last year.

Reinforcements

British missions, with one or two exceptions, report a serious dearth of suitable candidates, especially of men, and of doctors, both men and women. The Recruiting Committee appointed by the British Conference has been successful in steps taken to establish closer relations between the colleges and the mission boards. The missionary department of the Student Christian Movement has worked with inspiring vigour, and there is good hope that the great student conference on international and missionary problems to be held in Glasgow as this number of the Review is published may result in increased offers of service.

Annual Missionary Conference

The main subject before the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland at its ninth annual meeting in June was the response which should be given to the present call of God, with special reference to the Church at home. Missionary societies working in India and China were invited to contribute to grants of £500 and £800 respectively towards central co-operative organization in those countries. Proposals for the representation of the Conference at the international meeting to be held at Geneva were agreed to, and the appointment of a second secretary for international work was approved should the Geneva Conference so decide. The Conference decided to seek incorporation for the purposes of holding property.

The Finance Committee reported to the Conference that

after a long period of waiting leasehold premises admirably adapted to be the headquarters of missionary co-operation had been secured in London at 2 Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, and, having been renamed Edinburgh House, were already in occupation. Accommodation is afforded not only for the offices of the Conference itself, but for those of the International Committee, the *International Review of Missions*, the Press Bureau and the new magazine, and the United Council for Missionary Education, suitable rent being paid by the bodies not dependent on the budget of the Annual Conference. Towards the fund for the purchase and equipment of Edinburgh House, mostly given by private donors, the Church Missionary Society gave a generous contribution of £3000. A further sum of £4000 is needed to complete the necessary arrangements.

'Edinburgh House'

Adequate missionary preparation still holds a larger place in principle than in practice. The current year has seen many missionaries sent out with no specialized preparation for their work. The Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries has enlarged its activities to include residential lecture courses for missionaries on furlough. At Bournemouth in January 1920 some sixty men and women from many societies and mission fields spent ten days together studying phonetics, educational methods and psychology, the relation of Christianity to non-Christian religions and other subjects relevant to their work. Two conferences, one for women in April, the other in November for men, have dealt with the problem of moral hygiene in the mission field.

Preparation of Missionaries

Undeterred by conditions of extreme difficulty on the practical side, the first number of *Outward Bound*, the new missionary magazine under the editorship of Mr Basil Mathews, was issued in September. The magazine has been widely appreciated and the success of the new venture seems assured. Though initiated by the Conference of Missionary Societies, the magazine is controlled

New Missionary Magazine

and financed by a separate company, which has on its board of directors a proportion of men closely related to the Conference.

Missionary Press Bureau

The Missionary Press Bureau, also under the direction of Mr Basil Mathews, began work in January 1920, and has found enlarging opportunity for service during the year.

Place of Women

Whilst the place newly given to women in the councils of the Church of England is fuller than that accorded to them in several missionary organizations, the year has seen advance in this direction. Women have been admitted as incorporated members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and are henceforth eligible for a full share in its councils and responsibilities. The first woman with the status of a full secretary in one of the larger general organizations has been appointed by the London Missionary Society. Steps have been taken to institute closer relations between the Wesleyan Missionary Society and its Women's Auxiliary. Livingstone College has arranged to extend its medical training to women as well as men.

Other Matters of Interest

Among other events may be mentioned the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the London Missionary Society and the jubilee of the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society; the development of the missionary operations of the Salvation Army; the calling of Dr Ogilvie to five years' special missionary work by the Church of Scotland; the congress held by the Church Missionary Society in Birmingham, when over 350 delegates were present to take a share in deciding the policy of the society; the holding of a successful missionary campaign in the pottery towns in September, conducted by fifty undergraduates representing nearly all the Cambridge colleges; the effective scheme of co-operative advertisement in the daily press in which seven missionary societies made a united appeal; the institution by the Advisory Board of Medical Missions of an inquiry into economy and

efficiency in the use of drugs; and the project undertaken by an intermission committee of linking troops of Boy Scouts at home with troops in the mission field.

The Continent of Europe

France

The Paris Evangelical Mission is encouraged by almost daily letters concerning missionary vocation and is receiving many definite offers of service. Special provision has been made in Paris for training women for evangelistic work abroad. The financial situation is serious. In the first six months of 1920, only half of last year's deficit had been paid off and only one-fourth of the budget for the current year had been received. Owing mainly to the heavy cost of passages several items in the budget had been exceeded. The auxiliary committees which support the Mission in various parts of France met in conference in November 1919 for the first time since the war began.

Germany

Under conditions of overwhelming difficulty the Protestant Christians of Germany are making a brave effort to maintain their share in the missionary work of the Christian Church. On the financial side, in spite of heavy economic pressure on the middle classes who are the main support of missions, the income of most of the German societies is rising. The receipts of the Rhenish Mission have risen from half a million marks in 1913 to two and a half million; the Berlin Mission from M. 750,000 to nearly M. 2,000,000. But the enormous increase in the cost of living and the depreciation of German money in the mission fields counteract the gain. The transmission of money from Germany to China has become almost impossible. Where before the war it cost the Berlin Mission about M. 8000 to send $5000 to Hong Kong, it would now cost M. 145,000. The pressure is all the heavier because there are now in Germany 1400 missionaries—men, wives and single women—unable to get back to their

mission fields. The paralysed state of the country renders it difficult to find remunerative work, and the missions have to provide support. Before the war M. 4000 to M. 5000 was just enough to support a family; M. 16,000 to M. 18,000 now provide only the barest necessities of life.

Missionary Vitality

The first missionary dismissal of the Hermansburg Society after the war was held in July, when four missionaries were set apart with great joy for work in South Africa. In spite of the cost of living and of travel, a number of mission festivals and conferences have been resumed and mission study courses re-established. The missionary societies, realizing that the spiritual life of the nation must be maintained, are using their existing agencies for evangelistic work. There is a strong desire for co-operation in the preparation of missionaries and in home base organization with a view to economy and efficiency. The society for the scientific study of missions, founded in 1918, has just issued its two first volumes.[1]

Missions in the Universities

The attitude of the Government to missions in the universities is remarkable. In Berlin University the missionary professorship of Dr Richter has been formally recognized. Dr Oehler, of China, has been called to a newly founded chair of missions at Tübingen. At Halle, where Dr Haussleiter already holds a missionary professorship, Dr Merkel has become a *Privatdozent*. There are in all chairs of missions at eight German universities. A new chair of Missionswissenschaft has been established for Roman Catholic missions at the University of Munich.

The Netherlands

The missionary societies in the Netherlands, faced with heavy and increasing deficits, issued an appeal to American supporters of missions for a capital sum of $350,000 to maintain and establish their work. Later in the year the Dutch parliament unanimously voted a sum of 360,000 gulden to enable the Rhenish Mission to carry on its large and successful work in the Dutch East

[1] See Bibliography, p. 157, Nos. 83 and 85.

Indies. Up to the date of going to press, the further information expected in regard to the Netherlands Missions has not arrived.

Other Continental Missions

Facts are not available for a survey of the home base in other continental countries. The following points, however, may be noted. In Sweden the General Missionary Conference, at which 180 missionaries met with the home representatives, considered in particular the relationship of missions and governments. Swedish missions in India and elsewhere are appealing to the home base for reinforcements. In Norway, from which no information has been received, the Rev. Lars Dahle, R.S'O.O., has celebrated his jubilee as missionary secretary. Danish missions, whilst their income is sustained and new workers are again being sent out, need largely increased resources in view of the unfavourable exchange. The centenary of the Société Biblique de Paris was celebrated in December 1919. The Swiss Mission Romande, whose growing work has been already noted, is in need of larger contributions. The Kanarese Evangelical Mission, which is facing heavy responsibilities abroad, is encouraged by the number of candidates under preparation in England and in Switzerland. The mission has been able to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement with the Basel Mission in regard to the raising of funds in German-speaking Switzerland.

Australasia

Lines of Advance

Although financial problems and the need for men press at the Australasian home base, as elsewhere, there have been encouraging tokens of advance. The London Missionary Society has welcomed the formation of an Administrative Committee for Australasia which, while maintaining relations with the central office in London and contributing to the work of the society in all its fields, has received large powers of control as to home administration and the selection of missionaries, and has

taken over the administration of the L.M.S. missions in Papua. A joint committee of the Anglican Boards of Missions in Australia and New Zealand has been appointed to secure unity of counsel and action in missions in the Western Pacific. In New Zealand the branch of the C.M.S. has been co-ordinated with the newly formed Board of Missions. The Presbyterian Church of Victoria has carried out a successful campaign of education and has seen advance in congregational giving. The Methodist Church of Australia opened a missionary training centre for women at Sydney in July.

International Missionary Organization

International Conference at Crans

An event which, though insignificant in itself, is perhaps one of the most memorable in the missionary history of 1920, is the new beginning made in international missionary co-operation at the Conference held at Crans on the lake of Geneva in June. The way had been prepared for this Conference by informal meetings between representatives of missions in allied and other countries. A full account of the Conference, which was marked by a spirit of fellowship and mutual sympathy, appeared in the October issue of this Review.[1] Missionary representatives were present from America, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. Four German members of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference attended in their personal capacity. The Chairmen of the National Missionary Council of India and of the China Continuation Committee were also members, as was a representative of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. The main subjects under consideration were the situation at the close of the war in regard to religious liberty, the problems arising in several mission

[1] 'A New Beginning in International Missionary Co-operation.' J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1920 (Oct.), pp. 481–94.

fields in view of the increased responsibilities assumed by the state in education, the relation of missions to political questions and the present position of German missions.[1] The formation of a permanent international missionary organization was fully discussed, and the unanimous recommendations of the Conference that such an organization be formed, together with proposals as to its nature, are now before the various national missionary organizations who alone have power to act. As soon as the new international organization is constituted, the members of the original Continuation Committee have agreed to transfer to it their responsibilities, including the *International Review of Missions*, together with any funds at their disposal.

IX. CONCLUSION

If in the foregoing missionary survey as large a place has been given to national, political and social movements as to the organized activities of Christian missions, the proportion is inevitable in view of the present state of the world. When we look back to the years before the war we see missionary work carried on under external conditions that were relatively stable. The forces to be reckoned with were in some measure calculable. To-day things are in a state of flux. In the imagery of the Psalmist 'the foundations of the world are laid bare.'

In Central and Eastern Europe starvation and disease are carrying off millions. Throughout large areas ordered society is in a state of dissolution. China appears to be drifting deeper and deeper into anarchy and chaos, while there too famine threatens the life of multitudes. India is swept by strong tides of unrest. Through the Near and Middle East hostilities are in progress or threaten at any

[1] The notes on the Missionary Situation after the War prepared for the use of the Conference at Crans have been published and can be obtained from the office of the Review, price 1s., by post, 1s. 1d.

moment to arise. Egypt has shared in the almost universal unrest. In Japan opposing forces are in conflict in the national life, while there is tension in external relations both with the United States and with China. In Africa there are evidences of a growing racial consciousness, and in some parts an increasing and grave embitterment of native feeling.

A world full of suspicion and distrust, of national antagonisms and hatreds, is in the highest degree unfavourable to the progress of missionary effort. Those who bear the Christian message are subject to an almost fatal disadvantage when the race to which they belong is the object of deep-rooted dislike. The words already quoted purporting to represent the attitude of natives in South Africa —'Christianity is the white man's religion and must be uprooted; we must unite to compass our freedom, opposing the white man tooth and nail,'—deserve to be deeply pondered in relation to the whole situation in the world to-day. It will avail little to redouble our efforts, to multiply our forces, to improve our methods and organization if a chasm of mistrust yawns between us and those whom we would reach.

At home the exhaustion of the war and the multiplicity of needs to which it has given rise have led to a shortage of workers and stringency in finance. While this is felt less in America than in Europe, there too the available resources are insufficient to meet the many and varied needs. Equally serious is the insistent pressure on overburdened workers in the mission field and at home at the very time when the difficulty and complexity of the situation call imperatively for penetrating thought, wise planning and careful readjustment of policies to meet new conditions.

In such circumstances our one hope is in the uprising of new forces of the spirit. The only thing that can save us is the breaking in on our minds of a new appreciation of eternal values, a fresh perception of the beauty and attraction of Christ's way of life, a clearer vision of the

splendour of God's Kingdom and an overpowering conviction of the invincible power of love. With this must come a heightening of our powers and faculties to translate faith into practice and to make it a living reality in the world to-day. This is the only hope, but it is a hope to which we need not be afraid to cling. The very difficulties which might daunt us may prove to be the door into a fuller life. Nature, as a recent writer has said, 'is an element savage and dangerous into which the human being is thrown to show what stuff he is made of; an element testing in merciless severity his powers of courage and endurance but drawing from him thereby the utmost of which he is capable.' In facing with a bold heart the present situation human nature may rise to new and untried heights.

But the anchor of our hope is grounded deeper than a trust in the latent resources of the human spirit and 'man's unconquerable mind.' The Psalmist who has just been quoted saw the foundations of the world laid bare 'at the rebuke' of God. Hebrew and Christian faith has always seen God enthroned above the tumult and confusion of the world. He is an inexhaustible source of creative and redeeming energy. As the science of the past century has revealed in nature resources hidden since the beginning of the world and now discovered and turned to the use of man, so surely in God are hid spiritual resources to be apprehended and appropriated by those who are childlike in spirit.

If this be a true interpretation of the present missionary situation, then our duty is clear. It is to go forward with our eyes fixed on God. To be sure of Him who does not change will keep our heart steadfast in the midst of change. In the unrest and tumult He is present and at work, unchangeably the same in His truth and goodness and in His readiness and power to save and redeem human life. The only danger is that we should fail to recognize Him because we look for Him to manifest Himself in our way,

not His ; that we should close our minds to His light, our ears to His call, our hearts to His appeal. Man's extremity is God's opportunity ; and, as our Lord taught us, He never fails to respond to that expectant seeking which is the highest creative activity of the soul. Out of His profound knowledge of the nature both of man and of God, Christ said to His disciples with reference to such times as those in which we are living, ' When these things begin to come to pass

> LOOK UP, AND LIFT UP YOUR HEADS ;
> BECAUSE YOUR REDEMPTION DRAWETH NIGH.'

G. A. G.
E. G. K. H.

A PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE MISSIONARY IDEA

By J. H. OLDHAM

When I was in the United States nearly a year ago, I asked an American friend who reads widely to give me the names of some of the best philosophical, theological and educational books published in America during the war. From the suggestions made by him I selected among others a volume entitled *Human Nature and its Re-making*[1] by Dr W. E. Hocking, professor of philosophy at Harvard University. The book is a study of the stuff of human nature as modern science has helped us to understand it and of the various influences, social and supersocial, which seek to transform it and interpret its meaning and goal. The sincerity of the book and the directness of its relation to the real problems of the world to-day held me from the start, and when I came at the end to the final section on Christianity I found that one of the main conclusions to which the author is led by his objective study of the facts of life was that the missionary idea or the 'passion for souls' is the most characteristic product of Christianity, and that in loyalty to this ideal human nature finds its deepest satisfaction.

The angle from which Professor Hocking approaches the subject is so fresh that a sketch of his argument may be of interest to readers of the Review. It must be borne in mind, however, that the proportions of this article are not those of the book; the volume deals with many subjects of extreme interest which cannot be touched on here. I shall not hesitate to avail myself freely of the author's language even where this is not shown by quotation marks. My hope is that I may succeed in conveying enough of his thought

[1] Yale University Press. $3. London: Milford. 12s. 6d. net.

to induce some of those who may read the article to procure his book for themselves.

Professor Hocking has been stimulated to undertake the present inquiry into the principles which govern the process of re-making human nature by the condition of the world in which we live to-day. The explosive forces which finally burst their bounds in the political life of Europe are only one symptom of a widespread spiritual rebellion against authority and convention and established respectabilities, which represents 'a drastic judgment of non-reality upon the pieties of Christendom.'

> 'This rebellion would hardly have become so widespread or so disastrous if it were wholly without ground. It indicates that our moral idealisms like our metaphysical idealisms have been taking their task too complacently. Our western world has adhered to standards with which it has never supposed its practice to be in accord. . . . By labelling these standards "ideals" it has rendered them innocuous while maintaining the profession of deference: an "ideal" has been taken as something which everybody is expected to honour and nobody is expected to attain.
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> It is just these ideals that are now violently challenged, and the challenge is salutary. It is precisely the so-called Christian world which, having gone morally to sleep, is now put to a fight for life with the men who persist in reducing their standards to the level of common practice, in reaching their code of behaviour from below upward, not from above downward, in keeping their "ideals" close to the earth or at least in discernible working connexion with the earth. Their creed we may name *moral realism*; and the craving for an ingredient of moral realism in our philosophy seems to me a justified hunger of the age. The whole set of realistic upheavals, Nietzscheian, neo-Machiavellian, Syndicalistic, Freudian and others

> crowd forward with doctrines about human nature and its destiny which at least have life in them. Whatever else they contain, unsound or sinister, they contain Thought : and this thought must be met on its own ground. The next step, whether in social philosophy, or in education, or in ethics, requires an understanding between whatever valid elements moral realism may contain and the valid elements of the challenged tradition.'

Professor Hocking finds initial common ground with this moral realism by accepting for the purposes of argument the picture of original human nature as a group of instincts. The notion of instinct is a 'vagabond concept, which has gained scientific standing only because it is indispensable.' It arises from the necessity, under which all the sciences concerned with human behaviour find themselves, of moulding their ideas with the aid of biology. Biological science focuses attention on the nervous mechanism through which a specific stimulus awakens a specific response, and when we group these reflexes we arrive at the notion of instinct.

The moral realists assume that human life consists in trying to get what the instincts want. In that case the main business of the science of living would be to draw up a list of the human instincts and 'every social order, every moral or economic code, every standard of living would be judged by the satisfaction it could promise to the chorus of innate hungers and impulses thus revealed.' But this view is profoundly untrue to experience. Conscious life is engaged quite as much in trying to find out what it wants as in trying to get it. Instinct requires interpretation. The long-drawn-out conflict between the apostles of liberty, who would gratify every instinct, and the upholders of discipline has led to one definite result. It has shown that some discipline there must be; the elements of human nature are in conflict, and even the liberators have to determine which ingredient has the function and right to

control the rest. As Nietzsche said, 'Geist ist das Leben das selber ins Leben schneidet.'[1]

The book is divided into seven parts. The first provides a general orientation. In the second a survey of original human nature is undertaken in which an examination of the instincts reveals that there are processes that cannot be explained in terms of a particular response to a particular sense impression, but imply that the organism as a whole reacts to a need of which the whole is conscious. Tendencies of this central sort appear to be the most significant of human tendencies, those without which no theory of instincts would be of any value in illuminating human nature. Moreover, at the centre of the central instincts, and indeed within all instincts whatever, there appears to be a nucleus of common meaning which might be called the fundamental instinct of man, the substance of the human will. This Professor Hocking describes as the 'will to power,' though he is careful to guard against the errors into which Nietzsche fell in his use of the term.

The third part deals with the problem whether the interest in justice, which from the time of Aristotle has been commonly regarded as the distinguishing characteristic of man, can be recognized as an original moral disposition or instinct. What account are we to give of conscience? The conclusion reached is that conscience stands outside of the instinctive life of man, not as something separate, but as 'an awareness of the success or failure of that life in maintaining its status and its growth.' What conscience recognizes is that certain behaviour increases our hold on reality and that other behaviour diminishes that hold. It is native to human nature in the sense 'that it is within the capacity of human nature to be thus self-conscious in perceiving and controlling its own cosmic direction.' This description of conscience is further elaborated in several chapters dealing with the nature and significance of sin.

[1] 'Spirit is the life which itself cuts into life.'

The next three sections of the book are concerned with the agencies of re-making. The fourth part examines the work of experience in interpreting the data and incentives furnished by external facts. The fifth part is a study of society and its institutions with a view to ascertaining how far their influence is repressive and how far they facilitate the growth of the individual and aid him in the process of interpretation. There are chapters dealing with laws and the State, institutions and the action of the will to power in changing them, education, the right of rebellion and the place of punishment. The conclusion is reached that the social order in itself cannot furnish complete satisfaction to the will to power. The sixth section is therefore devoted to an examination of the claims of the supersocial orders of art and religion, each of which professes in its own way to offer an absolute satisfaction.

Over all the interesting and suggestive material in these sections we must pass to come to the final section of the book, which deals with Christianity and which is our primary interest here.

The striking thing about Christianity, Professor Hocking says, is that whereas most rules of life, whether secular or sacred, undertake to regulate behaviour, Christianity addresses itself to the feelings or affections. But is not a command to feel psychologically impossible? I cannot help my likes and dislikes; they are simply there. Hence Christian commentators as a rule endeavour to surmount the difficulty by giving the words for feeling a practical meaning. What is intended, they say, is that we should act towards our neighbour as if we loved him. The new principle thus becomes, like the old, a matter of conduct.

> 'Is it possible that this pragmatic interpretation may exactly miss the characteristic thing in Christianity by pouring back into behaviour that which the new idea proposed to lift out of it? Can I with any great success assume toward my neighbour a type of action in independence of my feeling? . . . What if the

demand of Christianity were intentionally and literally addressed to the affections ?

As I understand Christianity, it needs little interpretation, for it means as nearly as possible what it says. It intends to state its requirement in terms of a complete transformation of the instincts ; it is on this account that it has for us an extreme theoretical interest.'

The next step, therefore, is to consider how Christianity proposes to deal with the major passions of the private and the public orders, and in particular with the powerful instincts of pugnacity, sex and ambition.

The Christian precepts to love our enemies, not to resist evil and not to judge, seem to imply not so much a transformation of pugnacity as an abolition of it, and not of it alone but of justice itself. The commentary on these precepts seems not only to admit but to assert an abandonment of justice. For it is explained that we are to be ' perfect as our Father which is in heaven is perfect,' and this divine perfection is manifest in the fact that ' He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' That which appears as the total moral indifference of mechanical nature is here held up as the perfection of God. Is not this to make the absence of justice, the indiscriminate treatment of good and evil, the supreme law of the spiritual world ? But to argue thus is to forget that what is mechanical behaviour in the natural realm may be the very opposite of mechanical in the moral realm.

' The ocean responds neither to the blandishments nor to the threats of Xerxes ; but the mechanisms of his own menials would react to the one by smiles and to the other by signs of terror. . . . To refuse to respond in kind, while it may seem to return to the indifference of nature, *may be the precise opposite of a mechanical attitude.* The attacker expects your resistance ; if you do not resist, your rejection of his

challenge may enter the situation with the force of a *new idea.*'

The new idea may, however, be one of several. The attacker might conclude that you were too dead to fight or that you were too much alive to fight. Christianity depends on the possibility of putting significance into the latter idea. The persistent refusal to retaliate can be a sign of more life rather than less only when it is a response to a greater degree of truth. What Christianity sets before itself is a type of justice undiscovered by the Greek—a justice done for the first time to the plasticity and responsiveness of human nature towards our own wills, an absolute or creative justice. This is the only type of response that can finally satisfy pugnacity itself. What pugnacity wants is not simply the destruction of evil; it wants the evil will to hate and destroy its own evil; it wants to *make the man over.* And for this act of creation the absolute justice of 'Love your enemies' is a necessary demand. The Christian ideal is not one which can only be applied in an ideal state of society, but one capable of immediate adoption, for it expresses the final satisfaction of the will of the fighter in the midst of every good fight.

Take next the instinct of sex. The attempt to interpret this instinct seems to point to the conclusion that love is essentially a maker of life. It seeks an object which it can re-create in the light of whatever beauty it has seen. Love is the region of life which exists in giving life. Christianity by assuming, as it does, the non-necessity of marriage for complete satisfaction of the will teaches by implication that love is capable of complete sublimation. It is noteworthy, however, that in the characteristic transformations of love by Christianity the element of physical ministration is never lost. It is through forms of physical service that the repressed wish finds an outlet. The trend of Christian energies into philanthropic efforts in the early centuries was historically the manifestation of a humanitarian passion sufficiently profound to drain the entire life of

affection into its channel. But in Christianity this personal ministration was never allowed to shrink to the level of purely practical service. The cup of cold water is given 'in the Name' of something believed to be of cosmic importance. The mind is to be re-made as well as the body. Love means the will to confer immortality. The justification and the only justification of charity in the Christian sense is its metaphysical import. The two chief social equivalents of sex love are philanthropy and the production of beauty, both of them creative activities. But Christianity proposes them as complete equivalents only when they are elements in the religious life. There must be a union of ministry with worship. Without worship both philanthropy and art tend to become secular. Worship is the effort to shake off the dust and illusion of a partly secularized consciousness and to recover a sense of the quality of value in the ultimate reality of the world. Much has been said recently of the analogy between the life of religion and the life of sex. But this does not mean that religion is to be identified with sex, but that sex, as it finds its own meaning, approaches identity with religion.

The major passion of the public order is ambition. In Christianity the ordinary objects of ambition—precedence, wealth, office, public power—are relegated almost contemptuously to the category of the unimportant. But Christianity proposes to substitute for them a new ambition. He who would be first in the new order of things must be the servant of all. Christianity, in fundamental contrast to Buddhism, recognizes that ambition is the essence of religion. It seeks to remedy the faults of ambition by carrying it to the limit of its own meaning and giving a final answer to the question, What does ambition want?

Earlier chapters of the book have already shown, from many angles, how the quest for power tends to revise its aim, and how the pursuit of power *over* another tends to become the pursuit of power *for* him. At the limit the exercise of power is indistinguishable from service. It consists in

giving or adding to the being of another. Christianity places itself at this point and defines, as the goal of the transformation of ambition, the conferring of spiritual life. In this form it is the most characteristic product of Christianity in the field of behaviour. It is the passion for the historic spread of the new community, or in more personal form, the 'passion for souls.' This transformation of ambition is other-worldly in its sweep. But not in the sense of simply bidding men to determine their aims by the larger view, or to be cosmically prudent. It lays hold of the other world in a far more ambitious way than by merely seeking future status there. 'It lays hold on that world with the intent of so much present mastery of its quality and principle as to weave them into the fabric of human history.'

This analysis of the major instincts brings us to the remarkable conclusion that in the passion for souls all the instincts converge. In the missionary idea the will to power finds its deepest satisfaction and human nature seems to rise to its greatest height.

> 'This passion for souls we have described as the final transformation of the ambition of the public order, but it is evidently more than that. It is the same form of will as that which gave the final meaning to human love, the will to confer immortal life. It is likewise the last transformation of pugnacity, the will to displace evil with good. It is, in truth, *the point in which the meanings of all instincts converge.* It is the positive meaning given by Christianity to the human will as a whole. "Saving one's soul," so far as psychology can deal with the matter, is the achieving of this passion. "Conversion," or the second birth, means the translation of natural impulses into terms of this form of the will to power. . . .
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> The fact that these several instincts come together in this meaning is circumstantial evidence that the meaning is a true interpretation and final for them

> all. And as tested by experience, it has been a successful interpretation. It has become for many men an absorbing and satisfying purpose. And from the standpoint of those who look on and estimate the results in terms of character, there is little disposition to question that in those men who have most embodied this passion human nature has touched its highest points.'

Having reached this conclusion, however, we find ourselves confronted by a serious difficulty. Does not the interpretation of instinct as a will to power, and of the will to power as a will to save souls or to re-create or reform or educate mankind, have in it an element of presumption? Dr Hocking notes the tendency of modern missionary work to devote its energies to educational and philanthropic effort and social service. This tendency is inevitable. Christianity must express itself in concrete forms and approach the soul through its physical and social environment. But the tendency is fostered in part by the fact that for the modern consciousness there is a measure of embarrassment in the intellectual preaching of religion as a propaganda. 'An attitude in which one depicts himself subtly usurping the functions of Deity, while wholly vigorous and unblushing in the activities of an earlier generation, has become all but impossible to a large part of our contemporary self-consciousness.'

> 'The difficulty we have just encountered affords additional evidence that our interpretation of Christian requirements is the true one. For original Christianity encountered precisely the same criticism of its aims, namely, that they are presumptuous. Was it not this very charge that led to the crucifixion, and from the point of view of the judges perhaps justly so? For did not this man profess to forgive sins, and in other ways make himself equal with God? And did he not hand over the keys of heaven and hell to his followers? He professed to save others, and it was a pointed gibe,

> regarded as equivalent to a refutation, that he could not save himself. In political translation, the offence of the man was in his pretended kingship, the true substance of which was his self-asserted mastery over the souls of men. Historically speaking, the crux of Christianity is its element of presumption.'

What, then, are we to do if the complete salvation of an individual will requires the transformation of all its instincts into the will to save others? We must be saved by saving; but in our unsaved condition have we any right to suppose ourselves competent to save? It has not been asserted, however, that the ideal is practicable. It has only been said that this is what Christianity demands and that if it could be attained it would satisfy the will.

The conclusion at which we have arrived, however, is not merely an affirmation by Christianity; it is one to which we are led by the dialectic of our own experience. And, if that is so, there does not seem to be a sufficient reason why the ideal should be called by the special name of Christianity. The essence of Christianity must be sought, therefore, not in its ideal, which in so far as it is true to experience must in time become a common possession, but rather in the way by which it proposes to overcome the dilemma and the answer which it gives to the question how the complete transformation which will satisfy the will is possible.

Christianity does propose a way out. And it does so by presenting us with a doctrine of participation.

> 'It relieves the individual at once of the burden of supposing that it is through any merit or power of his own that he can save others; the power is conferred upon him by way of a loan. It is nothing inherent in us that is to do the work, but something in which we *participate*.'

Just as in the world of knowledge the beginning of wisdom is the knowledge of our ignorance, so in the world of will, if one finds and appreciates anything holy, the participation in that holiness is at the same time a destruction

of moral conceit. Humility is not so much a virtue as an infallible result of perceiving in any adequate way what kind of will it is that is needed to do a man's work in the world.

> 'Now to possess goodness in this participatory fashion is not to be good, but only to *begin* being good. But as long as the appreciation is alive (and this is vital to the whole matter) the incipient possession of goodness may do the work of goodness itself. *What the man sees becomes the working part of the man.* This principle explains and justifies the tendency which we found general in society of taking men on the basis of their hopes rather than of their achievements: what men reach out to will do some part of its proper work *through* them, if not by them. . . .
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> Thus, the fact of participation makes it possible to act as gods without presumption. With every element of self-assertion in the work of education, or propagating a national type of mind, or labouring for any causes such as involve persuading men, or loyally holding to instead of turning away from someone whose fault has become patent, or with whatever other form of saving human nature, comes in the same instant its antidote: "Yet not I, but whatever I have found visibly divine in the world, worketh in me." If the reader has found himself irked by our constant (and admittedly faulty) use of the phrase "will to power," the sting of that term is now finally drawn. There is power in the world, and such power as I must wield if I am to find what I mean by living; but that power, even if it resides in me for a moment, is very little mine. Far from a testimony to my ability if I accomplish something with it, it is a comment on my culpable lack of faith if I fail to work miracles with it.'

The solution of our difficulty, however, leaves us face to face with a new difficulty. In order to participate in the work and nature of God we have first to know God,

and it is only those who are already pure in heart that can see God. The problem is, How is love to God or to man possible if, as a fact, I do not have it? This question could be answered 'if there were, as the moving spirit of the world, an aggressive lover, able and disposed to break in upon my temper of critical egoism and win my response.'

> 'Plato and Aristotle represented God as that absolute good which, unmoving and changeless in itself, the soul pursues and longs for. To Christianity, it is the soul that is pursued; and God is for ever restless, in quest of what to Him is lost. The God of the Christian is one who invades the earth in order to bring men to themselves: to every soul of man He "stands at the door and knocks." He does not forgo the power of silent attraction found in the non-assertive Tao of Lao Tze, or in Brahm, or in the Unmoved Mover of the Greek; but it is as one who has known finitude and is "lifted up from the earth" that He will draw all men unto Him. He disguises Himself, takes the form of a servant; He comes to His own and His own know Him not; He is despised and rejected and done to death. And all this is the foil and background of His great joy. For He has His moment when to some mind, more honest than usual to its own need, there comes a presentiment of recognition, and the awed question, Who art thou, Lord? —to which He answers, I am He whom thou persecutest.
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> No assertion could be more empty than the Christian saying that God is love, if that love were simply a subjective disposition on the part of a being for ever inactive and unseen. If God exists as a good will, that will must do its work in the world of time and event as a will to power not wholly unlike our own, and so coming to itself as we must, through the saving of others. Christianity is right in holding that such a God, if He exists, must somehow appear in the temporal

order. And it seems to me that it is also right in saying that He must suffer; and not alone with us (as any god must who knows what is going on) but also for us, and *at our hands*. For the "hardening of our hearts," i.e., their alienation from reality, due to our preoccupation with our own suffering, could hardly be overcome except by seeing that in the actual mesh of our own experience the brunt of our selfishness has fallen upon *Him*, and that He, in this sense, bears our sin in His own body. It is such a God, active in history and suffering there, that Christianity declares as the most important fact about the world we live in.'

Whether this affirmation of Christianity is true—whether, that is to say, the world we live in is or is not the world of Christianity—is a question of fact. The concluding chapter of the book has as its title 'The Last Fact.' 'I doubt,' says the author, 'whether philosophy can affirm the existence of this fact. It can show that if such a fact were extant our dilemma would be solved. It can show, further, that certain characters of the world are in harmony with such a fact.' But the apprehension of the fact must come as something personally experienced or revealed. Religion has to take the issue out of the hands of philosophy.

'For religion in its historical forms is empirical; it appeals to the realistic temper; it deals with facts. Its function is not to prove God but to announce God. For this reason, its doctrine is stated as *dogma*; and the fundamental dogma of religion is *Ecce Deus*, Behold, *This* is God.'

If I have succeeded in conveying enough of Dr Hocking's argument to make it intelligible, readers will agree that it has carried us to the living heart and mainspring of Christian missions.

J. H. Oldham

RECENT ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARY LITERATURE IN GERMANY

By MARTIN SCHLUNK

One of the most striking evidences of the powerful development of missionary life in Germany before the war was the appearance of a scholarly Roman Catholic literature of missions on scientific lines. Essays in this direction are in evidence from the beginning of this century. The keen struggle which Gustav Warneck had carried on against the extravagant polemic of the Roman Catholic critics, and his insistence that their missions, though so much older than those of the Protestants, left much to be desired in respect of scientific thoroughness, were not without result. The appointment in 1911 of August Joseph Schmidlin (born 1876 in Klein Landau in Alsace) to be professor of missionary studies in the University of Münster marks a new era in the appreciation of scientific treatment as applied to Roman Catholic missions. Since that time a period of comparatively little productiveness has been succeeded by a series of works of sterling scholarship in all branches of the science of missions.

The organ of this movement is the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, which has been in existence since 1911, edited by Schmidlin[1] with the help of an able staff, and published by Aschendorff in Münster. It has taken as its aim a reconciliation between missions and scholarship, a syn-

[1] Schmidlin states in the last number of his *Zeitschrift* (Oct. 1920), that he intends to resign the editorship. Speaking of the hard struggle for life and the continuous wrestling with hostile forces, he, as the leader in German Catholic missionary scholarship, refers to the difficulties in which, among other things, the international ultramontane circles have plunged him. The existence of the *Zeitschrift* being doubtful, this article deals with a period which is historically well defined. It remains to be seen whether the German Roman Catholic science of missions can be maintained on the level it has reached.—M. S.

thesis towards which men of theory and practice, representatives of theology at home and missions abroad, should hold out a brotherly hand to each other. It pays special attention to the history of missions, which it regards as calling in all its branches for minute study and as offering no little instruction for the present age. In addition missions of to-day, and in particular the theory of missions, its jurisprudence and its methods, are, according to the editor's foreword, to be duly treated. Among the initial collaborators at Schmidlin's side, Father Schwager, S.D.V., of Steyl, Father Acker, C.S.Sp., of Knechtsteden, Father Krose, S.J., of Valkenburg, and Father R. Streit, O.M.I., of Hünfeld, deserve particular mention.

From the very first number the *Zeitschrift* has shown how seriously its task is taken. Its articles have been characterized by depth and thoroughness, and evinced a desire, while frankly maintaining the exclusive claims of the Roman Catholic Church, at the same time to do justice both to the vital Christianity and to the missionary work of Protestantism. The *Zeitschrift* has continuously aimed at quoting original authorities in footnotes, or at any rate giving references to them; and it thereby becomes an organ much esteemed and gladly used by Protestant scholarship too. It may justly be said that under the careful guidance of its editor it has found a foremost place among the missionary periodicals of Germany, and that by its very instructive articles it has greatly promoted the knowledge and appreciation of Roman Catholic missionary thought in Protestant circles in Germany. The annual volumes that have appeared so far are a mine of wealth for every student. The fact that, despite all efforts to be objective, there should still remain some misunderstandings in its discussion of Protestantism should the less be counted against it in view of its honest attempts to criticize the work of its own side, and to discover and eliminate mistakes in it. This self-examination on the part of Roman Catholic

missions is a welcome and valuable development that goes hand in hand with a deeper study of the Gospel, which tends at times to leave in the background the characteristics of Roman dogma and discipline, and makes one conscious of the common Christian heritage which unites the two confessions. True, at other times Romanist features appear which to us seem wholly irreconcilable with the Gospel, and then it is that the self-assertion which claims for its own Church the monopoly of the complete Christian faith is felt to be specially painful.

It was important to begin with these remarks on the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* and its attitude, since they apply to all recent scholarly literature on missions by German Catholics. It has become quite clear from recent discussions that the Roman Church and missions cannot and will not recognize a basis of common right between itself and a Protestant Church and mission, so that if Protestant and Roman Catholic missions meet on the same field comity can only be guaranteed through the personal tact of the missionaries, who believe in each other's good will.

It is of course impossible even to mention all the important works of this class put forth by German Catholics during the last two decades. The aim of this article is not to give a complete review, but to indicate the trend and the value of this literature by reviewing certain characteristic examples, and to estimate the progress which it represents in the scholarly treatment of missions.

I

The first class consists of works of reference, which merely seek to establish points of fact after applying historical criticism to the authorities, such as bibliographies, statistics, atlases and the like. In this direction, which is free from difficulties of dogma, work has been carried on with astonishing diligence. Thus Father Robert Streit in the first volume of his *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Münster,

Aschendorff, 1916), which forms the general introduction to the whole work, has enumerated on 877 pages 2078 works on Catholic missions from the year 1502 to 1910, stating where they are to be found and indicating their contents—a monumental task involving more than ten years of self-denying labour. The publication, indeed the mere collection of the material, which was rich enough to surprise even the Catholic scholar and which increased indefinitely as research went forward, would have been impossible but for the help of the recently started Internationalen Instituts für missionswissenschaftliche Forschung. The problem was to present a view of the literature of missions in a manner conformable to the modern requirements of bibliographies, and thereby to give the student of missions a reliable, easy and rapid command of the material already existing and to gauge the literary resources of missionary science. How all-inclusive the whole work is intended to be may be seen from the fact that three more volumes are to follow the first, one on America, one on Asia and one on Africa and Polynesia. It is a work that should not be missing from any of the larger missionary libraries. It takes account of literature in all languages.

Even before the *Bibliotheca Missionum* there appeared Krose's *Katholische Missionsstatistik* (Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder, 1908), the first scientifically conceived system of statistics in Roman Catholic missions. In its principles this shows a welcome approximation to the principles of Protestant missionary statistics. The same applies also to Streit's *Katholischer Missionsatlas* (Steyl : Mission Press, 1906), which gives a clear presentation in twenty-eight maps of the mission fields of the world, accompanying them with statistical notes. Protestant stations are distinguished by underlining. These three works supply the manuals which are needed as an introduction to this extensive field of study but which have nevertheless been conspicuously absent. Streit's *Atlas Hierarchicus*, published in 1913 by the Bonifacius Press in Paderborn,

while aiming at a wider range provides a valuable supplement and a large amount of statistical information.

II

A second class of these writings is that of historical monographs. There is still need for an adequate scientific history of Roman Catholic missions. There is not even a compendium. The editors seem to be scared by the wide range of the material, the difficulty of sifting it and the necessity of minute criticism. But they have the more diligently applied themselves to the specialized branches.

Friedrich Schwager's volumes, *Die katholische Heidenmission der Gegenwart im Zusammenhang mit ihrer grossen Vergangenheit* (Steyl: Mission Press, 4 vols. 1907–8), are already somewhat out of date. They deal with missionary matters at home, with missions in Africa, the Far East and all the East Indies, and present a wealth of material otherwise scarcely available in a quiet, critical manner which makes one regret that the work has not as yet been continued. But, as its title and geographical arrangement plainly show, it is not intended to be a history but rather a description of one field after another, to which history is appended as far as is necessary. Schwager's work, in fact, follows the lines laid down by Gustav Warneck in his *Abriss einer Geschichte der Protestantischen Missionen* and kept to ever since by Protestant writers down to Julius Richter in his *Evangelische Missionskunde*. The reason for the lack of a comprehensive history of Roman Catholic missions becomes evident when we look at the *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* by Father Heribert Holzapfel (Freiburg: Herder, 1909), 732 pages. This only touches occasionally on the essential missionary features of the history and that with a more than summary brevity where the historian of missions might well look for detailed expositions. A goodly work on an episode of the Middle Ages is Dr Otto Keicher's monograph *Raymundus Lullus*

und seine Stellung zur arabischen Philosophie (Münster : Aschendorff, 1909) which, in an appendix, gives for the first time in print the *Declaratio Raymundi per modum dialogi edita.* The skilful use of authorities, the careful textual criticism, the excellent historical and philosophical judgment, the copious notes, make it a valuable work and arouse the desire for a biography of the first Mohammedan missionary which would do justice to his significance in the history of missions.

Dr Konrad Lübeck's *Die katholische Orientmission in ihrer Entwickelung dargestellt* (Köln : Bachem, 1917) deals with Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor with Constantinople, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Persia and Malabar. It does not therefore quite cover the same ground as Friedrich Schwager. The old style of presentation, while not altogether excluding criticism, is highly laudatory and conveys an impression of optimism which stands in sharp contrast to reality. The practical aim of gaining recruits for missionary work frankly outweighs purely scientific considerations. Nevertheless this book shows a welcome advance in the historical estimation of events accompanied with the customary expositions of earlier date. The scientific bent comes out much more markedly in the well-written monograph by Dr P. Laurenz Kilger, O.S.B., on *Die erste Mission unter den Bantustämmen Ost-Afrikas,* which appeared under the aegis of Schmidlin among the *Missionswissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen und Texten* published by Aschendorff of Münster in 1917. In his introduction to this book Schmidlin well says : 'More and more does it become clear to the trained student how great a hindrance to the truly scientific discussion of mission problems is found in the lack of critical and reliable research in detail. It becomes therefore most necessary that the results of missionary research should be revealed and made generally available not only through the spoken word and the quotation of authorities, but also through the publication of treatises and original texts.' In this case an acute

criticism has produced out of the chaos of traditions, mainly legendary and overgrown with pious fables, a clear picture of a remarkable personality in missionary history, combining precise scholarship with an attractive style. The first missionary attempt of the Jesuits on the Lower Zambesi in the years 1560–2, which came early to a regrettable end, is thus brought out into the clear light of history, and Father Gonçalo da Silveira, the responsible leader of the mission, is finely portrayed. The section on the cause of the collapse of the mission is especially valuable for its sober and honest criticism.

Detailed studies of this kind are in fact heartily to be welcomed, but at the same time they call for discernment in the reader. Just because they let the authorities speak for themselves throughout and are at pains to reconstruct the facts exactly, they may easily give the impression of complete historical accuracy though at times they are not entirely true to fact, at any rate when it is a case of historical inquiry into Protestant missions. In my opinion, which is supported by experts, this is the case with the valuable little work of Dr Maurus Galm, O.S.B., on *Das Erwachen des Missionsgedankens im Protestantismus der Niederlande* (St Ottilien: Missionsverlag, 1915). Here too we find a wealth of literature brought under contribution and quoted verbatim in the notes. The main thesis of the book is unquestionably correct—that the references by Roman Catholic theologians to their flourishing missions helped to awaken in Protestant theology a sense of deficiency; and it is a good thing to follow out the detailed evidence which Galm adduces. But the picture drawn may yet not be altogether a true one, for the simple reason that it substitutes a mere part of Dutch missionary life for the whole. Galm sees almost everywhere Roman Catholic influence, even where its presence is more than questionable. On the other hand he leaves unnoticed, or at least underrates, the many non-Catholic influences which played a part in the awakening of missionary

ideas in Dutch Protestantism and the beginning of Dutch missions.

Finally I would mention as a noteworthy monograph in the field of missionary history the comprehensive study by Dr Adelhelm Jann, O.M.C. (published by Schöning in Paderborn in 1915), dealing with *Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan, ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom* 15. *bis ins* 18. *Jahrhundert.* This book examines the administrative and political basis of missions in the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, and narrates the results in a history of the Catholic hierarchy and the Portuguese suzerainty in Nearer and Farther India, in China (including Tibet) and in Japan. This learned book is far from easy to read. But the author has contributed valuable material to the history of Roman Catholic missions.

III

From the history of the past we come to the present and take as a third class of missionary literature those writings which make it their aim to describe the mission field of to-day. Here in view of the enormous number of publications the choice of examples cannot but be subjective. I would mention first Joseph Schmidlin's book on his student-travels in Eastern Asia, entitled *Missions- und Kulturverhältnisse im ferner Osten* (Münster : Borgmeyer & Co., 1916). The charm of the book lies in the fact that the leading expert in Germany on Roman Catholic missions gives an unfettered account of what he saw and learned on his travels and the judgments he had formed, and that as a matter of course he aims at being as objective and critical as possible without adulation or captiousness. This account written before the outbreak of the war shows in surprising detail how events cast their shadow before, and how the German professor of missions was hindered by suspicion and surrounded by mistrust.

Work of quite a different stamp appears in the essay of Anton Huonders, S.J., *Der einheimische Clerus in den Heidenländern* (Freiburg: Herder, 1909), which originated from a series of articles in *Die Katholischen Missionen.* With a completeness never before attained the author has laboriously collected information in regard to the training of natives for the priesthood. We thus have for the first time a glimpse of the strenuous attempts made in the course of centuries by the Roman Catholic Church to transplant its celibate priesthood into pagan lands. The character of the book is not purely scholarly. It is written in a style generally intelligible to educated readers, but it marks an advance towards solidity and sobriety of erudition.

A line of thought which is unfamiliar in Protestant mission circles is followed by Dr Joseph Löhr in his *Beiträge zum Missionsrecht* (Paderborn: Schöning, 1916). This gives the first connected exposition of the juridical status and activities of missionary superiors and missionaries, and especially of the ordinary and extra-ordinary missionary faculties. The book gives a valuable insight into the system of the Roman Catholic Church and deserves careful attention from Protestant quarters also.

A special class of missionary writings is formed by the year books and series of lectures so much in demand of late. Such lectures are sometimes delivered as a course of instruction based on some leading idea, and subsequently printed together. As an example I would mention the volume edited by Schmidlin, *Missionswissenschaftlicher Lehrerinnenkursus.* The course was given in Münster in September 1917, and is published in a volume of 160 pages, including lectures on the theory and history of missions past and present, and on the home base. We have here evidence both of the zealous work of recruiting undertaken in imitation of Protestant efforts among various classes and of the solidity of the arguments with which the speakers sought to win their hearers.

IV

The last class includes works on the theory of missions, and is particularly noticeable for Schmidlin's two works, *Einführung in die Missionswissenschaft* and *Katholische Missionslehre* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1917–9). Here the attempt is made to give a connected summary of the Roman Catholic science of missions and to develop at least one branch, that of missionary theory. This is treated partly in imitation of what has been worked out by Protestants and partly in opposition to it. It is especially this relation to Gustav Warneck's theory of missions which makes Schmidlin's two books instructive. There is an astonishingly close dependence, not in the outline only but in the underlying idea, and at the same time considerable independence of thought, which may contribute to a real development of the science of missions.

Perhaps the most surprising feature is the recognition of Warneck's definition of missions as the ministry of conversion among non-Christians. The claim of the Roman Catholic Church to universal allegiance is doubtless expressly laid down by Schmidlin, but on practical grounds he adopts, as did the statistician Krose, the terminological usage which is accepted throughout continental Protestantism. It remains to be seen how far Schmidlin's example will be followed in the Roman Catholic Church and in Protestant America. A statistic of missions based on uniform definitions would mark a great advance in this region of study. Schmidlin finds the deepest and most fundamental divergence between Catholic and Protestant missions in the fact that the former regards the Church as the starting-point and goal of missions, while he is so little able to appreciate the concept of an invisible Church that he speaks of Protestantism as 'absolutely and essentially churchless.'

Among the branches of the science of missions Schmidlin places first mission history, as dealing with origins; then

missionary knowledge (or facts), with the subdivisions of statistics and geography representing the present condition of missions; thirdly the fundamental theory of missions, including two sections, one dealing with basal principles and the other with practical method. The latter is again subdivided into a discussion of fundamental missionary jurisprudence and of the actual carrying of method into practice.

Altogether Schmidlin thus recognizes five branches of missionary science. Of these the fundamental theory of missions and missionary jurisprudence call for special notice. The former is *apologetic*, in so far as it has to defend the claim of missions; *dogmatic*, in so far as it has to produce from dogmatic sources evidence for the why and wherefore, the importance, the usefulness, the necessity of missions; *ethical*, in so far as it has to establish the right and duty of missionary work and of conversion; and *exegetical*, inasmuch as it elicits from the Bible and from tradition the basis and general scheme of missions.

In fine, the task of the theory of missions is to lay down the scientific basis of missionary work, which is what Gustav Warneck attempted in the first volume of his *Missionslehre*. But the comparative discussion of other religions is excluded here from the science of missions, whereas Warneck demanded its inclusion under the somewhat clumsy title of missionary apologetic, and Julius Richter expounded it for the first time in his latest book. It does not belong, says Schmidlin, to the science of missions, but is subsidiary to it. It is important to keep this summary of Schmidlin's in mind, as the outline has been followed actually in his theory of missions, but this works out in quite a different way from what one might expect.

Missionary jurisprudence emerges in Schmidlin's scheme for the first time as an independent branch of the theory of missions. He regards it as the epitome of all standards of law which apply to foreign missions. Up to the present, he declares, it has not come into existence, but it can and

must be invented. It has first to ascertain and systematize the existing basis of law; then to follow out the legal position in its historical growth as well as its ideal conception; and finally to distinguish these two in their practical application, i.e. to put the *vigens ecclesiae disciplina* side by side with code and customary law.

The *Einführung* is thus very fruitful in ideas, and seeing that the author's keen logical training comes into full play and continually brings criticism to bear on previous work or studies in Roman Catholic missions, we may confidently look for good results in what is yet to come.

If, however, any one had expected that the sequel, *Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss* (published in 1919), would follow the lines laid down in this introduction, he would be somewhat disappointed. This book is so dependent on Gustav Warneck's work on the theory of missions that it looks like a continuous discussion with that work. In fact, the phraseology of certain sections of Schmidlin only becomes intelligible after reading the corresponding passage from Warneck. Yet it must not be imagined that the book has no independent character of its own. It is written throughout from the Roman Catholic point of view and contains many new and independent expositions. But as soon as one compares the contents with Warneck's sections—the Basis, the Subject and the Object, the Goal and Method of Missions—the correspondence is at once obvious, and this is the more surprising, as Julius Richter in his *Missionskunde* succeeded in sketching an entirely new scheme of the theory of missions.

From the evangelical standpoint there is much to welcome in Schmidlin. Many passages have so clear an evangelical ring that we may be allowed the wish that Roman Catholic missionary work actually were as Schmidlin would have it to be. But his exposition contains far more than his introduction assigns to the theory of missions, for it discusses the machinery of missions in considerable detail. The special value of this volume of 468 pages comes

out in two points. First, it clearly sets forth the Roman Catholic conception of the subject and the object of missions, and thus shows to the careful observer the surprising similarities which, despite all differences, persist between the home organization of Catholic and Protestant mission life, in that both make use of voluntary associations loosely fitted into the general organization of the Church. Secondly, it sets out the missionary activities of preaching to the heathen, baptisms, schools, literary work, and guidance in the Christian life, both in relation and in contrast to Protestantism. This constant reference to Protestant models results in a good deal of polemical discussion, at some times not without acerbity of expression and at other times clearly evincing how difficult it must be for a Roman Catholic with the very best intentions to place himself in the Protestant position, and to avoid an attitude of superior judgment and false generalization. Prejudices which are aroused from time to time, even if they rest on untenable premises, lead to a partisanship which cannot be just to fact even when it would. Thus Schmidlin speaks in one place of the easy-going Protestant idea of the 'open door,' and in another of 'the irreligious heathen, Mohammedan and Protestant schools'; elsewhere he praises Roman Catholic missions because in contrast to the occasional practice of Protestants they take into their permanent service only Christian agents with approved moral and religious character; or again he reproaches Protestant missionary effort as lapsing into the mere promotion of culture. The blots and the failings of Catholic practice, as set forth by Warneck, are not suppressed, but on the whole he maintains, sometimes very naïvely, the unconditional superiority of his own way. On the whole, then, this work of Schmidlin's is well worthy of attention, even if it has not produced the scientific advance which the *Einführung* led us to expect.

Meanwhile Julius Richter has sketched his plan for an evangelical theory of missions. He follows almost

exactly the lines laid down by his master Warneck in his book, which betrays incredible industry and unparalleled knowledge of detail. In his headings—the Basis of Missions, Theory of Missions, Apologetic and Missionary History—he has entirely disregarded Schmidlin's suggestions. Still with all respect for his method, I may be permitted to believe that the advance in scientific treatment of missions must be along the lines laid down by Schmidlin. We need a history of missions not geographically arranged but portraying the victorious course of Christianity from the first Pentecost to our own day. We need a description of the whole mission field of to-day with all its immeasurably difficult problems. We need a theory of missions which shall display missions as essential to Christianity and as the indispensable element in modern culture. We need, finally, a missionary methodology which, based on the experience of nearly two thousand years, shall raise the empirical operations of missions to a more scientifically conscious level.

If recent Protestant literature has blazed a path for Roman Catholic scholars, these also have much to teach us as to our goal and method. Let us learn from one another in the service of science and of truth, for our own benefit, and for mutual understanding of each other in theory and in practice, and in the consciousness that we serve one Lord.

MARTIN SCHLUNK

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR WOMEN, GIRLS AND CHILDREN IN JAPAN

By AMY C. BOSANQUET

'All my care was and still is that, whereas He hath so many enemies and so few friends, these at least might be very good.'—Santa Teresa.

The Japanese are, to an extraordinary degree, a literary people. We call it extraordinary because, to our minds, the script seems almost prohibitive in its complexity and the demands it makes on eye and memory. Yet about as many publications are issued every year in Japan as in Great Britain or America.

The reading public has increased immensely of late years as a result of the well-organized system of government elementary day schools all over the land, from which about a million boys and girls pass out every year able to read at least the simpler kinds of books and magazines and the easier parts of the newspapers. A great deal of popular reading matter is published now to meet the demand. At the same time, women are becoming more and more highly educated. It is a land of wonderful intellectual activity and ambition.

There are, of course, ignorant people and busy people who seldom touch a book or paper. In some families reading is looked on as a form of idleness for a girl. But most women read at least some illustrated magazine or the thrilling novels which appear in the daily papers. The circulating magazine club, which supplies and changes periodicals every few days, sending messengers from house to house, is a great institution, very convenient for the women who have no one to leave in charge and cannot go out. Among

women who have had a high school education (and there are high schools now in most of the provincial towns as well as in cities), among college graduates, school teachers and the wives of leading men, we meet with thoughtful women who read widely and some who work at special subjects, even sending abroad for books they require. The public libraries report a demand for Japanese and foreign works on women's problems. Throughout the provinces local girls' associations are being formed under government patronage, and these include lending libraries among their plans. Of late many Buddhist sacred books have been translated into Japanese, and study circles have been started to read them, e.g. by the Young Women's Buddhist Association in Tokyo.

One is struck, especially in the students' quarters of Tokyo, by the immense amount of reading matter ; indeed everywhere one finds booksellers' shops, second-hand book stores and cheap sales going on at night fairs, when stalls are put up along the sides of the street or books are spread out upon the pavement. Books without end, going out like live things, like angels or like demons, to teach noble things or chatter foolishly or whisper poisonous thoughts ! Young people too often read translations of western novels of a bad type under the impression that the authors are leading lights. They conclude from them that Christianity is played out, old-fashioned, no longer reverenced. There are more than ten thousand suicides a year in Japan, including many girls and women, and these are undoubtedly partly due to pessimistic, morbid, sensational reading.

There is some good Christian literature, but it is still comparatively scarce and is not at everyone's door as the other books and magazines are. It must be sought for at some one or two special shops in some few favoured cities, and elsewhere ordered by post. At present much is done through pastors, missionaries and Bible women, who get books, if they are interested in the matter, and show them to others. The difficult and costly problem of a good system of distribution must be tackled seriously. Women and

children are especially dependent on the chance to see things.

This, then, is the present position. The way for a great work has been prepared by education and reading habits and booksellers' shops. The Message can be made known, the Church instructed and built up, homes purified, hearts refreshed and comforted, not only by the living voice but by the farther-reaching method of paper and print. Does it seem a cold method? It need not be so, for beautiful, burning, penetrating thoughts may flame from heart to heart, unquenched by the processes of the printing press. God can and does work gloriously through words read in the noisy tram or on one of the lovely mountain sides which are so common in Japan. Probably far more people than we suppose have died in faith, treasuring to the last some book or tract which has been the only guide to God, the only link with the Christian world.

There are no difficulties arising from many distinct languages or dialects, as in some mission fields; only the Chinese in Formosa, and the Koreans, who have their own Religious Tract Society, need separate provision. But the ideographic script adds enormously to the labour of printing and proof-correcting.

Those of us who know Japan feel that there is much at this moment to bid us hasten our steps. Other forces are gaining strength and going ahead. Shall we be always in the rear? The present critical situation—whether we look at it from the social, political or religious standpoint—affects women and children, so we cannot pass it by in silence. But we must not be discouraged. The western world used to overpraise Japan; it was a fairyland; its men were heroes of Bushidó; its women were perfection. Now a reaction has set in, and the gifts and virtues of that wonderful race are somewhat overshadowed by the stern reality of certain evils which have come to the fore—evils, in some cases, of long standing, aggravated by new industrial conditions, the effects of the war and other

modern causes. We hear that 850,000 women and girls labour for long hours under bad conditions in factories, that more than 143,000 boys and girls under fifteen years of age are employed in silk and cotton factories, that in the coal mines not less than 60,000 women work underground, that the death-rate is rising, infant mortality increasing, immorality terribly prevalent, that the masses of the people, especially in country districts and city slums and thickly populated industrial areas, are still untouched by Christianity. All this only means that a mighty work lies before us, that Japan's spiritual need is calling for our prayers and our self-sacrifice as never before.

What, then, has been done and what have we yet to do in the sphere of Christian literature? A good beginning has been made. Much laying of foundations and pioneering has been done. The Bible was translated long ago and is more accessible than any other Christian book, as it is kept in stock wherever there is a church, and colporteurs go about selling it. A revised version of the New Testament, much improved, has appeared lately. Hymns, devotional books, biographies and good fiction, translated and original, as well as tracts and booklets, Sunday school cards, etc., have been produced for many years. The Japan Book and Tract Society, connected with the Religious Tract Society, London, led the way with books for children, translating some by Mrs Walton, Miss Le Feuvre and other favourite writers. It would be impossible to say how many readers, little and big, have been brought to our Lord by *Christie's Old Organ*. The Church Publishing Society, Methodist Publishing House, Keiseisha and other agencies, besides individual missionaries, have done good service. But all was on a small scale, especially as regards supplies for women and children. And stock needs continual renewal and revision in a country where style changes and soon becomes out-of-date.

A great step forward was taken when the Christian Literature Society was organized and entered formally upon

its work about seven years ago. It holds a unique position in close connexion with the Federated Missions, and is now the central Christian publishing agency. Both men and women, American, British and Japanese, are on its committee, which represents all the more important churches and missions—not Roman Catholic or Greek. The C.L.S. is an example of successful united work for a great common cause (though it does not hinder other publishing houses from continuing to do useful independent work, in a friendly spirit). It has brought out more than 130 different books, original and translated, and at least 50 different tracts, a great number of them written by well-known Japanese pastors.

In October 1919 the General Secretary, Dr Wainright, could say: 'The sales of our books are very encouraging. The total for nine months this year is nearly double the total sale for the corresponding months last year.'

Since 1917 the C.L.S. has had a department for women and children, which has begun work by preparing and publishing various books, booklets, tracts and Christmas cards, but which might be immensely developed. The *Mother's Guide*, specially written for Japanese homes, *The White Queen of Okoyong* (Mary Slessor of Calabar), *Trumpet Calls* (talks to children by an experienced Japanese Sunday school teacher), *One Girl's Influence* by R. Speer, one of the first books for girls published by the C.L.S., several stories, etc., have been very well received.

This department also publishes two monthly periodicals, *Little Children of Light* for Sunday schools and homes, and *The Light of Love* for grown-up people and factory girls, to carry the news of the divine love-light to those who have had only an elementary education and need simple evangelistic teaching. Another paper published by the C.L.S., *The Morning Star*, goes out widely to schools and colleges among students of both sexes.

The appreciation shown, as well as the willing help given by able Christian women, has been a great help to

those who are trying to grapple with this large work. It is a pleasure to take a parcel of books and magazines to a mother's meeting or women's Bible class, and spread them out on the matted floor, or pass them round the circle, and see how eagerly they are examined and how gladly orders are given and purses produced. Not only the Christians but inquirers and others are often truly hungry for all the spiritual help they can get for themselves and their children, and will come with glowing faces to tell how much a book has comforted them or cleared away mists of misunderstanding or doubt. Not seldom the book for the child is a blessing to the mother as well. Only they want something for little ones of every age, beginning with Bible pictures for the smallest, and as yet we have but few ready.

The Japanese are becoming quick readers. When the C.L.S. brought out a translation of Miss Yonge's *Little Duke* with its high ideals of Christian chivalry, loyalty and forgiveness, one Japanese lady whom I know read it straight through and then began at the beginning and went through it again, all in one day. Schoolgirls will come again and again to borrow books if one has them to lend, and will soon run through a small library, so we must make larger plans.

Letters come in from parents and children, from lonely Christians, from remote islands, from places where no religious teacher is at hand, telling of help and comfort received and asking for more. One little boy wrote that he liked the magazine, *Little Children of Light*, very much ; ' please make it as thick as you can.' Sad to say, we had to reduce its size because of the high cost of paper.

The field is large, for it is not limited to Japan proper. Many Japanese go to Korea, Formosa, Manchuria, China, California, British Columbia, South America, and other places abroad. Most of the women know only their own language and are still dependent on Japanese for reading. The Y.W.C.A. has great opportunities for distributing and selling literature for the voyage and after to the women and girls leaving Kóbe and Yokohama.

A Japanese lady has written to me lately: 'The cry for Christian literature is getting louder and louder; the increase of inquirers in many churches requires ever so many tracts, and the work of the C.L.S. is looked on as having a very promising future.'

When funds permit, it should be possible to develop separate departments for women and for children, since there is a splendid sphere for each. Young girls, also, provide a great and little occupied field. There is not as yet much to guide and warn and inspire the girls in their 'teens' and younger women who are going out into the world to make their way as clerks, hospital nurses and teachers. They have their own special dangers, and of many of them we might say, as Santa Teresa said of certain people of her day:

> They run hither and thither ever restless. I much pity them, since, methinks, they are like persons extremely thirsty that see water afar off, and desirous to go to it meet with others that oppose their passage at the beginning, in the midway, and at the end. . . . They want strength, their courage fails,—and perhaps they were not two steps off from the Fountain of Living Water.

The Children's Department might be greatly developed in co-operation with the Sunday School Committee of the Federated Missions. There are about seven million children of school age, and it must be remembered that in Japan elementary education is not in the hands of the missions; the influence in the day schools is often antagonistic. So we must make special efforts to reach the children through their homes, through Sunday schools (in which there are now about 150,000 children, mostly non-Christian) and through literature, which can go to places where there are no Sunday schools.

We might name many more particular needs, e.g. those of the noble army of women church workers or Bible women who have hitherto worked much with foreign missionaries but are more and more being thrown on their own resources in independent positions, and need helpful books as

much as the pastor, but not of quite the same kind. Again, Japanese women are being drawn more into active Christian social and philanthropic work, so they, as well as men, are interested in the resolution passed at the Federated Missions Conference last August:

> Resolved, that the C.L.S. be encouraged to publish and distribute pamphlets and books dealing with effective community planning and activity, as well as devotional studies in social service problems.

The Christian Literature Society is now buying the land on which its office stands by the river Sumida in Tokyo, and is making plans for rebuilding the inconvenient premises, and further developing its operations. The supporting missions are all contributing a share.

In conclusion, a word about the future ideal. We must not depend upon translated work, but pray for great original writers, able to stir their own land from end to end. Just now, many of the best thinkers are much oppressed and distressed by the conditions they see and feel around them; let us pray that they may not be paralysed, but on the contrary moved and inspired by God's Holy Spirit to write words full of the heavenly fire of glowing love, faith and hope. Such words will have power. Bishop King said: 'Too many of us hold the Christian religion with the tips of our intellectual fingers, instead of embracing it with our whole heart.' We wait and look for the high souls, the strong beautiful poets who will speak to the very heart of Japan and show it the glory and beauty of Christ our Lord and His kingdom. The Japanese women have deep poetic feeling and we feel sure that it will find expression more fully soon. It may be that the first great Christian poet will come from their ranks.

AMY C. BOSANQUET

AN AFRICA OF THE AFRICANS

By ARTHUR SHEARLY CRIPPS

A plea for the safeguarding of every Native Reserve in colonized Africa as an inviolable sanctuary which may shelter African tribal life and foster its self-development.

Can you not see with others' eyes as yet?
Will not your home-love take their home-love's hand?
You that have lusted for your own green land
In exile, you that in her war-time set
Life on her altar, you that waive regret
For fallen friends—fallen so she might stand,—
You that, far-banished, fond returns have planned,
You that her smiles remember, frowns forget!

O look in your own heart, and should you find
England's own name indelible and clear,—
By England's love I charge you, be more kind
To such wild tribes as hold their few hills dear!
Filching nine-tenths of those wild hills away,
Leave them a tithe—to live their fathers' way.

A. S. C.

I

In a book called *Black and White in South-East Africa* [1] by the late Maurice Evans, which has probably influenced the trend of native policy in South Africa already not a little, the writer speaks of insight gained by the Natal Native Commission after the Natal rebellion into the native's apparent point of view. He says :

The underlying note of much of the native evidence was too much contact with Europeans, and too much interference with their life by Government and its agents, especially the police. Indeed if we could get at the hearts of the people, consciously, sub-consciously or unconsciously, we would find the desire to be let alone. Why is the white man constantly disturbing us?

[1] London : Longmans. 1911.

The colonist writer in his recommendations sets himself to remove this as well as other alleged grievances, by the policy of segregation that he advocates. He says :

> It will be patent to those who have followed me thus far that the underlying principles of the recommendation I am now making is the separation of the races to an extent hitherto never attempted, the preservation of the home life and race integrity, and the prevention of race overlapping, contact and conflict. They will therefore be prepared to admit that there should be no violation by the white man of the areas set apart for the Abantu. Only those would be admitted as residents into these reserves who were there primarily for the benefit of the natives, administrative officers, missionaries and teachers. Trading licences issued during pleasure and specifically conferring no vested interests might be allowed, but the idea is that the natives shall in time, under guidance, be fitted to fulfil all the duties pertaining to their separate existence. Within the native areas a black man will have many rights and privileges ; two obligations, however, will be absolutely imperative : the broad policy governing his affairs must be dictated by the white man through his parliament, and he must be absolutely loyal to the central government, which is in turn responsible to the empire, and in a wide sense to the civilized world at large.
>
> So, and contingent thereon, a generous policy may well be adopted, making the black man's land one attractive to him, freeing him there from the irritation and overlordship of individual whites, and giving him every opportunity for personal and race development. But outside this domain and within the area of the white race he has no such privileges. Should he go there for any purpose, he must conform and submit to laws and regulations made by the white man for the benefit of the white man.

Obviously our Natal writer is indicating a policy that may even now belatedly ease, if not exactly remove, any present or potential friction between settlers from Europe or their descendants and the natives of Africa in the states of the South African Union. Moreover, there is a strong glimmer of hope in his suggestions for African territories, lying north of the union border-line, that are already more or less affected by a similar friction. Colonized or Europeanized Africa hangs together and offers the same type of riddle apparently in more than one latitude.

What I want to argue in detail is the call to secure a vantage ground for African self-development in the de-

marcated reserves of Southern Rhodesia—the only part of Africa that of my own knowledge I know comparatively well. But I am encouraged to believe that any ideals that I advocate and arguments that I adduce with regard to tribal territories in Southern Rhodesia may apply to other eligible spheres for African self-development in several African districts.

II

The story of our Southern Rhodesian reserve acreage is well worth attention. It is a story that points a moral to friends of African self-development in other parts of Africa, as well as Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Let those who take notice of its moral bestir themselves without delay whensoever questions of native reserves and their final demarcation are mooted. Had missionaries in Southern Rhodesia, generally speaking, shown themselves more alive to the importance (not only as regards the present but as regards the future) of obtaining a really liberal land settlement for all alike of the Southern Rhodesian tribes involved, the present outlook for Africans in our territory might be much more hopeful than it is just now.

In Southern Rhodesia a certain amount of land was provisionally allocated in the nineties as reserve land for Matabele and Mashona natives to hold as tribal occupiers. A Native Reserves Commission has in recent years sat and recommended a final assignation of lands to be held in tribal occupation by the indigenous natives of this territory. An Order in Council confirming and giving legal validity to most of that Commission's decisions is scarcely likely to be much longer delayed. As one who has taken a considerable interest in that Commission's drastic report, and deprecated strongly the adoption of such recommendations contained in it as were opposed by local representatives of the Native Department, until they had been submitted to further arbitration, I am not inclined to look

forward to the promulgation of such an Order in Council without very grave misgivings.

It is not easy for me to forget the alleged defect of the Commission's personnel as being composed entirely of one company's servants or ex-servants, or to condone its admittedly eclectic policy as to seeking native testimony, or to excuse its temerity in essaying to readjust the boundary line of twenty million acres, the time it allowed itself for such a mighty task only amounting to about two short years (for the most part years of preoccupied war-time). I am not disposed to allow that the Commission's table of gains and losses (when comparing the old tentative reserves acreage with the newly recommended reserves demarcation) is a fair one. Reserves that were probably due to be provided sooner or later in more or less remote districts come for the first time into a published map of suggestions under the auspices of the Reserves Commission. Thus they are allowed to pose as new benevolences, when they are really back debts of honour, left unpaid for about twenty years.

Even with the aid of such spacious augmentations to the table of apparent gains, not to speak of back blocks of country designated as Reserve Reserves, the natives of Southern Rhodesia stand to lose over a million acres should the new recommendations in general oust the older arrangement.

According to the definition of the Commission's scope, given when it was constituted, it was to recommend a final demarcation of all lands in Southern Rhodesia ever to be assigned for tribal occupation. At a time when the tenure of so many natives on Europeans' lands as rent-paying tenants is so precarious, a time when both the native population is apparently so fast increasing and the native agriculture so fast developing, it is not easy to assent to our threatened loss of a million or so of acres to native tribal occupation with any sort of notion that it is all for the best. I regard our Natives as fellow members of the

Rhodesian commonweal with myself, and I register a Rhodesian's protest accordingly.

αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπε τό δ'εὖ νικάτω.

We are assured that about twenty-four acres remain for our native population per head. But that assurance is by no means of necessity a convincing consolation. Anyone who knows much of our granite veld, especially of certain reserve tracts, knows how little the imposing statement of this acreage is to be relied on in calculating how many human beings or cattle can be supported on a given area of it. Was not the standardized size of a European's farm for many years put at about 6500 acres in Matabeleland, and in Mashonaland at about half that amount? When the Lemco Company took up their enormous holding at a very moderate rate indeed, were they not allowed a rebate even upon that price, barren rock being roughly estimated for, and omitted from the reckoning?

As to one reserve (the Sabi Reserve) that the Commission has sentenced to an enormous reduction, an ex-soldier now resident in that reserve has recently given me some testimony. It is to the effect that if one quarter of it were good, useful land, and fairly well watered, he thinks there would be ample room for all its natives. He contends that it is not so much the granite as the lack of water which renders large tracts of country impossible. He speaks from a considerable Southern Rhodesian experience, and opines that he has seen no more hopeless piece of country than the south-eastern portion of the Reserve. He has even gone so far as to say that it is of no use to natives, and never will be. Twenty-four acres of very mixed country per head per member of the indigenous subject races of Southern Rhodesia! I am quite willing to agree that such an allowance compares very well with that made in other South African territories—in the Orange Free State for instance. But how does it pass muster as a permanent and final allotment of tribal land to two subject

native nations out of a huge imperial crown-land demesne—in the light of post-war and reconstruction professions ?

It seems deplorable that having given such recent proofs of their war-time loyalty, our two local subject nations should be drastically mulcted in their tribal acreage.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding, our powers-that-be can surely offer considerable mitigations to their loyal native subjects, if only they have the mind to do so. Let them relieve the menaced strain on our tribal ' Africas for the Africans ' by providing outlets for natives whose path of self-development breaks away individualistically from time-honoured African traditions. Let them take two other steps with regard to the native land question here at the same time that they set themselves to demarcate tribal reserves for us. Let them move as to these two matters of no little importance : (*a*) the provision of land near our labour centres, where Natives of the regular industrial class can make gardens as well as homes ; (*b*) the provision of land contiguous to the tribal reserves, where Natives may be encouraged to take up land on individual permits of occupation, and to purchase it, when once proof of beneficial occupation has been given by them.

When we remember that all unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia has been declared by judgment of the Privy Council to be vested in the British Crown, the provision of either kind of land would not seem to be a merely visionary suggestion.

As soon as ever the Colonial Office develops a living faith in native Rhodesia's self-development, may we not confidently look for its realization ?

Meanwhile the question of our native reserved tribal acreage, probably largely reduced but avowedly finally demarcated and safeguarded to some extent, holds our stage, and asks for our dutiful consideration. Ought not such an acreage to be assured, please God, to Africans—dispossessed elsewhere—as genuine Africa ?

Do not take away

III

The pleas I am hereafter pleading for our own native reserves in Mashonaland and Matabeleland apply surely to many other native reserves or locations in other colonized territories. Let the blessed institution of native reserves be safeguarded wherever it be found in our Empire, as our best make-shift harbour of refuge for the very natural and legitimate instincts of the African's race consciousness. Was it not said of a Celtic race that their speech they would keep, their land they would lose—'except wild Wales'? Who would deny the value of Wales to the British Empire in particular, and to the world at large, as a preserve of Celtic aspirations?

If one believes, and I take it a good many Europeans are at one with me in believing, that Africans have racial characteristics well worth fostering, one is apt to appreciate the potential value of reserves in such places as South or East or Central Africa, and the importance of safeguarding them. One way to look at native reserves is surely as wind-screens tempering the blustering overseas breeze to the shorn black lamb. Assuredly they may serve too, if only they be rightly safeguarded, as islands wherein African tribal life may develop largely on its own lines. These lines, so optimists have suggested, may run parallel with the lines of our colonists' development, rather than necessarily converge upon them and so invite collisions in the near future.

On the other hand, in my honest opinion, there is a real danger just now of native reserves being used to subserve a sort of Anglo-Saxon imperial efficiency programme, a programme that makes for Prussianization of sorts—for the imposition of *Kultur* or its equivalent upon a weaker coloured race by a stronger white race. More than three years ago the Aborigines Protection Society's journal denounced the movement called 'Empire Resources Development.' It wrote: 'Under the above title a movement has been

launched which demands the vigilance of every friend of native races.' Does not a sympathetic character in a modern novel (O'Rane in *Sonia Married*) declare that 'efficiency' is a word he dreads, meaning, as it seems to do, being unkind to someone weaker than yourself, and getting the law on your side while you are engaged on the job? Ought not we who care for Africans to be very watchful just now, as recognizing what an attractive country Africa must appear to the reactionaries of Europe in certain important aspects? Are not her labour and her land, so massive in quantity, so easy of manipulation, alluring to capitalists of a certain type, who find both land and labour to be scarce and dear and unmanageable nearer home?

I would emphasize three points with regard to native reserves that require our vigilant attention:

(*a*) We are confronted just now in Southern Rhodesia with a somewhat elaborate scheme for developing native industries on our native reserves. A director of native industrial education has it in hand. His sympathy with native self-development, and with the work of our Christian mission among our Natives, has been frankly avowed and has appealed to me as to others. He has been Native Commissioner in a comparatively backward or primitive district and he has apparently formed clear ideas of the Native's need and capability of progress.

The great danger of his scheme seems to me to lurk in the possible temptation that may assail him or his successors to rely on the prestige of our European government and to superimpose the dogmatism of Europe on reserves that should serve as the strongholds of African self-development. Native arts and crafts should evolve their own developments: European supervision and invigilation may easily be carried to excess and conceivably worsen them, not better them from an artist's point of view. On the other hand, much surely may be done for the native craftsmen by providing regular centres for the sale of pottery and basket-work to help the more remote

reserves. Also much may be done (by way of shows, industrial training, and demonstrations) to help the husbandmen and graziers of the reserves to adjust themselves to altered times. Last year we had in this one district about 1600 ploughs, as well as some wheeled transport, owned by natives; here, then, there is surely to be found a fine scope for an industrial reformer—that of helping traditional iron-craft and wood-craft to meet the new demands for repairs and replacement of parts.

But as to our Natives on our native reserves—'too much contact with Europeans, and too much interference with their life by government and its agents' (*Black and White in South-East Africa*) are, I feel sure, to be deprecated in the interests of true African self-development. One point certainly needs emphasis. No *carte blanche* ought to be granted by the Imperial to the Colonial Government to earmark areas on our reserves as experimental centres or teaching stations. This new government scheme of ours has already involved the choice of about 700 acres from one reserve to serve the purpose of an industrial school farm. Now this is to create a dangerous precedent. With a less sympathetic industrial director than we have at present we may soon be up against serious trouble—that is to say, if valuable areas may be subtracted at will from the severely limited amount of likely land in our reserves. *Such areas should be chosen near to native reserves, but not on them.*

(*b*) We in Southern Rhodesia are faced with the possible imposition of a special burden on the inhabitants of our native reserves. I mean the opening out of those reserves by roads and the upkeep of those roads when made. I believe that both the Reserves Commission and our Administrator have advocated more or less the saddling of our reserves dwellers with their roads' maintenance.

I would point out that in our Administrator's own letter, bound up with the Commission's recommendations, he excuses the comparatively meagre amounts of educational and medical grants made specifically for native

needs at a time when native tax-payers pay such a large proportion of the territory's revenue. His plea is that it should be remembered that the Native has a share in the general good government of the territory. That being granted, then by all means let the Native have his proper share of public works' assistance on his native reserves. Mr Evans of the Natal Native Commission (that made its researches after the Natal Native Rebellion) chronicles as one of the 'complaints of the ordinary kraal native,' 'compulsory labour on roads and public works.' The inhabitant of a native reserve in Southern Rhodesia certainly ought not to be mulcted in corvée labour for the provision of such elaborate motor roads on his reserves as may afford easy access to European visitors.

(*c*) I am encouraged to believe that some sort of reaction against the spirit of South African Pass Law has been lately in evidence. Modified as our own Southern Rhodesian Pass Law has been, its sinister operation as a manufacturer of offences and punishments was solemnly deprecated in a debate held during our Legislative Council's last session. The whole subject, raising as it does the question, 'Are technical civil offences to be punished as crimes?' seems to need an essay to itself. How long is a Colonial Government to tap freely the fruitful source of revenue that a Native Pass Ordinance provides, both by the ingathering of fines and the employment of convict labour? Does not imperial reconstruction demand the sacrifice of such profit making as well as other sacrifices? Anyhow, it would seem to be a modest and workable proposal to obtain one particular measure of Pass Law reform at once. I mean the mitigation of Pass Law regulations so far as they affect Natives on their own reserves as distinct from Natives in European areas. *No Native ought to be put under arrest, or detained or punished, for not having his registration certificate* (that flimsy piece of parchment) on his person, night and day, when he is on his own heath (so to speak), I mean when he is on native reserve ground.

IV

In conclusion I would quote again those wise words of the writer of *Black and White in South-East Africa*, '. . . a generous policy may well be adopted, making the black man's land one attractive to him, freeing him there from the irritation and overlordship of individual whites, and giving him every opportunity for personal and race development.'

I want a racially self-conscious African not to feel himself homeless in a colonized Africa ; I want a miniature Africa of the Africans, free as far as may be from exploitation, and free as far as may be for self-development, to exist within the borders of every one of our native reserves. As a Christian missionary I want African native reserves to be properly safeguarded, so that on them Africans may be free to go about their proper business of preparing Africa's own distinctive contribution to the city of God, and of bringing Africa's own unique 'glory and honour into it.'

ARTHUR SHEARLY CRIPPS

THE CHURCH AND GAMES IN AFRICA

By DONALD FRASER

Religious zeal, especially when it has blazed up where there is much rubbish and disorder, is apt to leave a blackened barren soil. The keen Christian finds all his joy and life in religious exercises. He will sing no secular song because hymns and psalms express the thoughts that fill his life. All the simple gaieties of life are forgotten or despised, not because he hates joy, but because religion is a very joyous thing to him. He feels no need of the relaxation of secular entertainments, and no barrenness for lack of secular amusements and sport. This absorbing interest of religion is apt to make him censorious of those who have passed into a more measured life, and of those who have not shared the heat of his zeal, when they rejoice in pleasures and interests which are not strictly religious. Then if he governs in the state, or the church, or the homes, you have 'Puritan' control, barren and irksome to those who have not his temperament and experience.

This is what leads the young church just rescued from heathenism, and full of the satisfying wonder of devotion to Christ, to legislate against much in human life that is not only harmless, but may enrich others who have not the zealot's capacity or temperament. A creed is apt to grow up marked more by the negations of Christianity than by the attractiveness of the positive gifts and graces which accompany faith.

In the native church in Livingstonia the tendency to prune and wither became strong in the first days of its zeal

and energy. The evils at first were so evident that many avenues were closed or blocked by prohibitions, in a belief that no Christian could walk there without leaving the main direction. Drunkenness was the curse of the land; nine-tenths of the crimes sprang from it; waste and indolence necessarily accompanied it. So the native church readily accepted the suggestion that total abstinence should be a condition of membership and the teachers and elders vehemently denounced all beer drinking. But as the years passed the law did not grow more simple. Other Christian churches in Nyasaland were not prepared to go so far in their prohibition. Many Europeans whose sympathies were with the Christian service of missions were not total abstainers. What was to be done with certificated Christians from other churches, or with such Christian-minded Europeans who would join us at the Lord's Table?

Polygamy was anti-Christian. While it held, no family life could be created, and it was undoubtedly the breeder of jealousy and sensuality. So it was ruled that no polygamist could enter the church, and that only the first wife might be retained. But in time this too became complicated, for it was recognized that some old men who had spent a lifetime with two or three devoted wives were reluctant to separate from them, and that sometimes the first wife was married under such conditions, or had grown into such a type, that the husband could not live with her. Yet these old men had apparently a real love for Christ, and though they had all the good fruits of the Spirit in abundance, they could not be acknowledged as members of the church though they were seemingly followers of Christ.

Dancing had some most obscene tendencies, especially the moonlight dances of the purely Nyasaland tribes, and even the daylight *ingoma* of the *Ngoni*, where there was little mixing of the sexes, and where the action might be healthy and clean, was so absorbing that the cold months saw villages so devoted to this sport that school and worship

suffered. Then the native elders entered dancing, too, in their list of taboos.

A light unintoxicating beer was introduced and used to a great extent by the Christians. But a way was soon found of making this beer intoxicating, and temptations to over-indulge in it, or to pass from it to the fermented heady beer, became too frequent, so some of the congregations decreed that no Christian may drink *mtibi*.

When men and women were married some tribes had festivities which were not seemly : feasts, dances and other ceremonials which tended to heathen degeneracy. Then many of the elders would forbid all festivities in the village after a church marriage, beyond a quiet and orderly feast.

So the puritan legislation of the native church, in its zeal to maintain a pure standard of conduct and to hedge its members about from all evil tendencies, became more and more severe. The religious life took too many clear-cut laws for its guide and lost the freedom of the spirit. Preaching became unattractively negative. Self-discipline found no field for exercise in moderation. And the new life of the village threatened to be very bare and lacking the joyousness that is characteristic of the African.

When one listened to the ordinary teacher preaching his conception of Christianity, one was distressed by his lack of positive truths and his disproportionate emphasis. The road to Christ was shown not by the shining light beyond but by closing all bypaths. To become a Christian meant to give up polygamy and beer drinking and dancing. Strange to say, neither in preaching nor in the discipline of the elders was much attention given to selfishness, dishonesty, cruelty and other sins which make conduct hideous. One seldom heard the call of Christ in the drawing power of purity, righteousness and fullness of life. Nor did men recognize enough that the best protection against evil and the best adjustment of life are to be found in the love and habit of goodness.

At the same time, if the influence of Christianity is to

permeate all social life and not to be cabined and confined to a purely religious realm, we had to recognize that not only were the industrial and worship habits of the people to be raised, but the recreations and leisure time must be sweetened. When one lived in a village where Christians were active enough to guide the evening life of the village, one found a quiet and orderliness which were a pleasant contrast to the drunken orgies and loathsome sport of the heathen villages. Yet the atmosphere seemed barren and unattractive for the merry young folk. It was not surprising, then, that when professional dancers or reactionary lads started evil dances in some neighbouring village, the young people escaped from the sombre quiet of the Christian village and spent the night in hideous licence, among the noisy merry people who gathered about the drums and dancers. For dancing is inbred in African nature. They dance when they are merry and they dance when they are sad. Dances express their anger and their passion, their joy and contentment. I have seen a man rise and dance after a full meal, just because the glow of contented life was in him. After a fight with a wild beast he will dance in graceful pantomime the whole action of the struggle. When the sun goes down and the earth cools, all the children of the village frisk and dance in the energy that has come to them. I have even seen a fervid preacher dance in the warmth of his appeal.

Why should this natural outlet of African feelings be blocked or made the monopoly of the devil? Did not even puritan Bunyan, afraid to name the idea of dancing in plain language because it was the sport of the ungodly, find himself up against this natural expression of a full heart? Thus when Christian rejoiced in his release at the cross, 'he gave three leaps for joy and went on singing.' Why did not old Bunyan let him go on from the first three steps into a light joyous dance 'before the Lord,' as David did?

If you brand a thing as wrong or unchristian (which is not evil essentially), you may either create an artificial conscience, or make an abominable sin of it, more detestable

because it is excused under a cloak of religion. Few things are more easily created than conscience. Denounce anything persistently enough, whether it be recreation or amusement, and the disciples who accept you as leader will soon be uneasy about matters that never troubled them. When the natural likings of a man seek expression in spite of these prohibitions they are apt to parade themselves under religious disguises that are nothing more than hypocrisy.

Recently there broke out in certain schools in Rhodesia and among the followers of one of these strange preaching sects that did much harm in Nyasaland, the Watch Tower disciples, an abominable dance. It was professedly based on the Christian doctrines of brotherly love, and it took such licentious phases that the Government had to interfere and suppress it. I cannot help tracing this miserable outbreak to the unwise suppression of national sport by the zealous church, and especially to its attitude of distrust and fear of the joyous spirits of the villagers.

May I be pardoned if I relate a very small attempt that I have been making recently to capture the sport of the people for Christ, and to purify their recreations? It must be confessed that the best of the native elders looked with a little suspicion and fear on one's efforts. They were more alive to the dangers than to the good that might result. And of course it is always a risky thing to move against the opinion of your native elders, for they know the people better than the European does. Yet if one has already won their confidence so that they believe you are zealous for the glory of Christ, and are not entirely ignorant of native thought and habit, your lead need not be resented.

The first thing that had to be done was to turn the emphasis of one's teaching from the negative prohibitions of Christianity to the glorious fullness of its gifts. For a church will not be led into strong expanding life by a denunciation of sin but by a revelation of goodness. Accustom men to look on and love purity, unselfishness and righteousness, and they necessarily learn to dread foulness,

greed and sin. Give them a sense of the Kingship of Christ in every realm of life and they seek to bring every phase of life into subjection to Him, not by making their life more barren, but by conforming all things to His will.

When a missionary sets up his tent in a village in Central Africa, respect for him suppresses the ordinary movement of village life. Few games are played, no dances take place, people sit about quietly talking or waiting for a service. Now that is not pleasant to the soul of a man who responds to the joy of children, and it gives him a narrowed feeling of being nothing more than a preacher, as if the fellowship of manhood were denied him.

I shall describe one evening under more natural conditions.

At the close of a heavy day's marching and teaching I sat at my tent door. Dinner was over, a bright moon shining, and as my tent was pitched in the school-ground a little distance from the village, all around was still and lonely. I lay back in my chair, depressed with sheer weariness and dreading the long hours till bedtime.

Presently the sound of a stream of children flowing along the bush path from the village came tumbling and rumbling through the night air. By and by a crowd of youngsters was swarming in the open space before my tent. They sat down on the ground, shy and suppressed, before me.

'Aren't you going to play?' I asked.

'May we?' they replied, knowing well what my answer would be, for the reputation of evening sport had preceded me.

Soon they were on their feet; the boys in one corner of the playground, the girls in another. They began with long dancing rings, that whirled faster and faster until they broke apart in their speed, not unlike the ring and dance games of little schoolgirls at home. Then I called for a game which we called 'London Bridge' in our childhood. Boys and girls played together, running underneath the clasped hands of the two eldest. The tug of war followed

between the captured sides, and then a long pantomime performance when the children with interlocked hands above their heads represented ripe and unripe pumpkins.

The noise of play had attracted the village seniors, and groups of women and men stood looking on and instructing the young people in the rules of the games. Now in the heathen villages the older women are the leaders in the vilest dances. I have seen them break into the children's rings and teach them and incite them to more and more loathsome posturing. But this night I have the Christian women with me, suggesting forgotten games, guiding the merry folks how to follow the rules.

One or two pretty games, with haunting melodies, are started. The children do not know them. With much clamour and rehearsal the elders finally get them fairly on their way and the game goes through, the fun increasing every minute.

We are now ready for the dances. The boys form a ring by themselves, and have hunting and war dances, in imitation of their seniors. Men stand thick on the outer edge of the ring, cheering the successful performers. Sometimes seized by the spirit of the fun they burst through the crowd and give a model dance themselves.

The girls too have taken their stations and are busy with an endless variety of dance games ; now they squat and leap like frogs, again they intertwine their right legs, and dance in a rotating circle on one leg. The slow, rather uninteresting wedding dance is given; then more vigorous solo or double dances within the circle. From both rings a perpetual chorus is going on vociferously, to the accompaniment of rhythmical clapping of hands. Once or twice in the excitement of the dance actions which are not pretty or pure are attempted, but the girls stop them. These are not allowed to-night. The fun must be as clean as God's moonlight.

All my weariness has gone long ago, a light heart and constant laughter have been given to us all, and through the

evening till nearly nine o'clock the sport goes on more and more merrily. At last the time to sleep has come. A word from me, and immediately the noise is quietened, and all squat on the ground beside me. I speak for a little on the joy of life that God has given us and how clean the taste of pure sport is. I ask the Christian men and women to guide the evening games, that nothing may be done that Christ would not like to look on. Then we sing a hymn, have prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer and Benediction, and the crowd goes off crying to me, 'Sleep in peace,' and silence closes down on us, till nothing but the night sounds of the wood are heard.

I know well that unguided dances may be abominable: controlled they may be pure joy. The song fables that are told about the fire may lead to a morass of abomination, but they can also open into plains of sun-lit laughter. We shall be good servants of Africa if we can rescue from foul clutches the treasure of song, fable, dance and sport which is one of Africa's best possessions, and teach the people how work and recreation are realms over which Christ may rule.

DONALD FRASER

NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

The Report of the Commission on Native Education in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope has been published at a moment when, on the one hand, the passing of the Native Affairs Bill throws increasing responsibility on the native population, and when, on the other hand, the widespread unrest and recourse to physical violence of a section of the partially educated Natives has been utilized by some as a forcible argument against their education. The Commission is convinced that the necessity for educating the Natives is recognized by all enlightened people and considers it superfluous to set up a defence for the fact of native education. The primary duty of the Commission, as conceived by them, was to overhaul the educational system. The need for change results, in the view of the Commission, from many causes—the original missionary view of education as a means to a somewhat narrowly regarded religious end; the lack of psychological knowledge of the nineteenth century, which sought to educate black and white alike, regardless of differences in background and outlook; relaxation of tribal discipline with no adequate substitute; lack of emphasis on industrial education; the isolation and individualistic character of mission schools; the drifting of moral and religious teaching into the background (' what is not inspected is neglected '). There is further the growing restiveness of the native teachers, and the enormous burden placed on a single person—' a missionary would be found as sole manager of more than a hundred schools, responsible for the management of teachers, for guarding their morals, for the disbursement of government and council grants and for keeping the schools equipped with furniture, books and other requisites, and all this without any payment from the public purse for his services as superintendent.' The individualistic efforts of the mission schools have wakened the conscience of the community, and collectivism is now claiming to discharge in a more adequate and efficient way

the work that has previously been done by missionary bodies. 'The Commission has, therefore, conceived its principal duty as embracing an overhaul of the educational system with a view to placing native education more in line with modern educational theory, bringing it into closer touch with the facts of native life and circumstance, and, while always aiming at the standards of culture, sound living and good citizenship, fitting every scholar for his place in domestic and economic life.'

The Commission considers that there is as yet no general demand for the substitution of public for missionary control. The Commission was faced with the difficulty that neither the body representing the largest number of native people, the Transkeian Territories General Council, nor the native teachers as a whole, have yet expressed their opinion, although the Native Teachers' Associations in several districts have asked for the formation of school boards, one going so far as to say that the 'mission school system should be relegated to oblivion.' The Commission, however, supported by a large majority of missionaries, believe that there are many who appreciate the advantages of the present system. A Majority Report looks forward to ultimate development in the direction of combined control, but recognizes that progress must necessarily be slow; a Minority Report looks to perpetuation of the present system, in which the missionary superintendent stands alone as the local authority. The Commission recommends, *inter alia*, that the Education Department of the Province, assisted by an officer especially conversant with native conditions and educational needs, be responsible for the general control of native education; that free education only up to standard IV be provided in council school areas; that teachers' salaries be raised; that no lowering of the standard of native (as compared with European) education, in principle or in practice, be contemplated; that some form or forms of manual training, educative and with practical ends in view, be given in all classes of native schools; that greater emphasis be placed on systematic instruction in religion and morals, the duties of citizenship and the elementary laws of health, which be made compulsory subjects. 'Religious instruction where given—and it seldom receives the attention its importance rightly claims in native schools—cannot take the place of definite moral instruction such as European children receive in well-conducted homes.'

The Report recommends that the medium of instruction up to

and including the fourth standard be the home language of a pupil, provided that English (or Dutch) be taught as a language from the earliest stages ; that the educational standard of entrance to the training schools be raised after five years, and that vacation courses be held to enable existing teachers to improve their qualifications ; that it is advisable that inspectors—whose circuit be gradually reduced to a maximum of one hundred schools—have a working knowledge of the vernacular ; that compulsory attendance be not generally introduced, the time not being ripe, but that where 75 per cent of kraal heads in any native location so desire, a modified form of compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of seven and fourteen may be enforced, with certain reservations ; that local and circulating libraries, primarily for the use of teachers, be established at convenient centres ; and that the Department take into consideration how to organize the location school system with a view to combat epidemics and for other health purposes. Finally the Commission is of opinion that the interest of native education would be served if the Department would call together triennially an Advisory Council for Native Education to be presided over by the Superintendent-General of Education and composed of eighteen representatives—two from the Education and two from the Native Affairs Department, two from teachers engaged in native education, six from missionaries, three from Transkeian Territories, and three from other native districts.

[Summarized from the *Report of the Superintendent-General of Education. Cape of Good Hope* (C.P. 4—1920).]

ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND TURKEY

SIGNED AT SÈVRES, AUGUST 10, 1920

NOTE.—The Treaty of Peace with Turkey was signed on August 10, 1920, but at the time of going to press it has not yet been ratified by the Allied Powers or by Turkey.

ARTICLE 93

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

[Similar provisions apply to Greece, including Adrianople (Article 86), and to Smyrna and the adjacent territory (Article 75).]

ARTICLE 95

The High Contracting Parties agree to entrust, by application of the provisions of Article 22,[1] the administration of Palestine, within such boundaries as may be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, to a Mandatory to be selected by the said Powers. The Mandatory will be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The Mandatory undertakes to appoint as soon as possible a special Commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities. In the composition of this Commission the religious interests concerned will be taken into account. The Chairman of the Commission will be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 140

Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 141, 145 and 147 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no civil or military

[1] Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which, as in the Peace Treaty with Germany, forms the first part of this Treaty. See IRM, 1920 (Oct.), p. 592.

law or regulation, no Imperial Iradeh nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, Imperial Iradeh nor official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 141

Turkey undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief.

The penalties for any interference with the free exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be the same whatever may be the creed concerned.

ARTICLE 142

Whereas, in view of the terrorist régime which has existed in Turkey since November 1, 1914, conversions to Islam could not take place under normal conditions, no conversions since that date are recognized and all persons who were non-Moslems before November 1, 1914, will be considered as still remaining such, unless, after regaining their liberty, they voluntarily perform the necessary formalities for embracing the Islamic faith.

In order to repair so far as possible the wrongs inflicted on individuals in the course of the massacres perpetrated in Turkey during the war, the Turkish Government undertakes to afford all the assistance in its power or in that of the Turkish authorities in the search for and deliverance of all persons, of whatever race or religion, who have disappeared, been carried off, interned or placed in captivity since November 1, 1914.

The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate the operations of mixed commissions appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to receive the complaints of the victims themselves, their families or their relations, to make the necessary inquiries, and to order the liberation of the persons in question.

The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of the decisions of these commissions, and to assure the security and the liberty of the persons thus restored to the full enjoyment of their rights.

ARTICLE 145

All Turkish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Turkish Government will submit to the Allied Powers a scheme

for the organization of an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation of racial minorities.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 146

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognize the validity of diplomas granted by recognized foreign universities and schools, and to admit the holders thereof to the free exercise of the professions and industries for which such diplomas qualify.

This provision will apply equally to nationals of Allied Powers who are resident in Turkey.

ARTICLE 147

Turkish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, and independently of and without interference by the Turkish authorities, any charitable, religious and social institutions, schools for primary, secondary and higher instruction and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 148

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the communities concerned.

ARTICLE 149

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognize and respect the ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy of all racial minorities in Turkey. For this purpose, and subject to any provisions to the contrary in the present Treaty, the Turkish Government confirms and will uphold in their entirety the prerogatives and immunities of an ecclesiastical, scholastic or judicial nature granted by the Sultans to non-Moslem races in virtue of special orders or imperial decrees (firmans, hattis, berats, etc.) as well as by ministerial orders or orders of the Grand Vizier.

All laws, decrees, regulations and circulars issued by the Turkish Govern-

ment and containing abrogations, restrictions or amendments of such prerogatives and immunities shall be considered to such extent null and void.

Any modification of the Turkish judicial system which may be introduced in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty shall be held to override this Article, in so far as such modification may affect individuals belonging to racial minorities.

ARTICLE 150

In towns and districts where there is resident a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals of the Christian or Jewish religions the Turkish Government undertakes that such Turkish nationals shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest. This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals (Christians or Jews) from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

ARTICLE 151

The Principal Allied Powers, in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, will decide what measures are necessary to guarantee the execution of the provisions of this Part [i.e. Part IV, Protection of Minorities. Articles 140–151]. The Turkish Government hereby accepts all decisions which may be taken on this subject.

PART IX. ECONOMIC CLAUSES

[Section 4 (Articles 287–309) deals with Property Rights and Interests, including the restoration of these to owners who are nationals of Allied Powers.

Section 6 (Articles 310–6) deals with Companies and Concessions and provides for the replacement of Allied nationals in possession of the rights resulting from concessions granted by the Turkish Government before October 29, 1914, both in territory remaining Turkish under the present Treaty and in the territories detached from Turkey.

Article 317 defines the use of the term 'nationals of the Allied Powers' in Part IX. The definition includes 'religious or charitable institutions and scholastic establishments in which nationals or protected persons of the Allied Powers are interested.']

TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE AND ITALY RESPECTING ANATOLIA

SIGNED AT SÈVRES, AUGUST 10, 1920

The British, French and Italian Governments . . .

Being anxious to help Turkey, to develop her resources, and to avoid the international rivalries which have obstructed these objects in the past,

Being desirous to meet the request of the Turkish Government that it should receive the necessary assistance in the reorganization of the administration of justice, the finances, the gendarmerie and the police, in the protection of religious, racial and linguistic minorities and in the economic development of the country,

Considering that the autonomy or eventual independence of Kurdistan has been recognized by them, and that it is desirable, with a view to facilitating the development of that country and the provision of any assistance which may be required in its administration, to avoid international rivalries in such matters,

Recognizing the respective special interests of Italy in Southern Anatolia and of France in Cilicia and the western part of Kurdistan bordering on Syria, up to Jezireh ibn Omar, as these areas are hereafter defined,

HAVE AGREED UPON THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

ARTICLE 1

There shall be perfect equality in Turkey between the Contracting Powers in the composition of all international commissions, whether existing or to be established (including the different services dependent thereon), charged with the reorganization and supervision in a manner consistent with the independence of the country of the different public services (judicial and financial administrations, gendarmerie and police) and of ensuring the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities.

However, in the event of the Turkish Government, or the Government of Kurdistan, being desirous of obtaining external assistance in the local administration or police of the areas in which the special interests of France and Italy are respectively recognized, the Contracting Powers undertake not to dispute the preferential claim of the Power whose special interests in such areas are recognized to supply such assistance. This assistance shall be specially directed towards enhancing the protection afforded to racial, religious or linguistic minorities in the said areas.

ARTICLE 8

The French and Italian Governments will withdraw their troops from the respective areas where their special interests are recognized when the Contracting Powers are agreed in considering that the said Treaty of Peace is being executed and that the measures accepted by Turkey for the protection of Christian minorities have been put into force and their execution effectively guaranteed.

ARTICLE 9

Each of the Contracting Powers whose special interests are recognized in any area in Turkish territory shall accept therewith the responsibility for

supervising the execution of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey with regard to the protection of minorities in such area.

ARTICLE 11

The present agreement, which will be ratified, will be communicated to the Turkish Government. It will be published and come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Turkey comes into force between the three Contracting Powers.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A TEXTBOOK ON THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

Tutors unto Christ: Introduction to the Study of Religions. By Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. London: Milford. 4s. 6d. net. 1920.

The title of this book with St Paul's words fresh in our minds is somewhat misleading. It suggests that the subject of the book is non-Christian religions considered as a preparation for the full revelation of God given in His Son Jesus Christ, but as a matter of fact, the purpose of the book is to prepare Christian missionaries to become tutors unto Christ by introducing them to the comparative study of religions, and only near the end of the book is it suggested to them that they 'must try to discover all in the religion with which they are dealing which can be regarded as a preparation for Christ, an imperfect good which He can complete, an urgent need which He can relieve, or a vague aspiration which He can make more definite and thus supply.' The sub-title, however—Introduction to the Study of Religions'—gives a truer indication of the contents of the book, and regarded as such it will prove of real value to those intending missionaries for whom it is specially prepared.

Great care has been taken to impress upon students the standpoint from which they should regard faiths other than their own. The missionary must 'be appreciative, sympathetic and tolerant . . . and deal with each [religion] with absolute candour and sincerity.' Further, he must recognize that 'religion as the apprehension of reality necessarily involves revelation, which must be progressive, conditioned at every stage by the religious development of man.' The recognition of this latter point will also determine his attitude to the earlier sacred records of his own religion, and it is impressed upon the student that in presenting his own faith, 'the Christian missionary who desires to offer to his hearers a theology which will have the necessary mental adequacy must be prepared to regard the Bible from the standpoint of modern scholarship and not lay on the Christian faith the burden of the Hebrew cosmology, anthropology and psychology.' This warning is no doubt especially intended for those who are proceeding to those countries of the East

where intellectual culture has reached a high level. It is needed for those who are to work among the child races as well, as the right understanding of these books from the first will save the Church from much trouble later. Such warnings are still needed, and not the least service which this book will render to the cause of missions is the stress which it lays upon this right attitude alike to alien faiths and to the records of our own.

As a general introduction to the comparative study of religion —Dr Garvie takes exception to the generally accepted description of the science as that of 'comparative religion'—the book covers much ground, but in supplying the student with a survey of the various theories which have been or are held regarding the different subjects of which he treats the author does not leave him without guidance. He supplies just that criticism or indicates those essential points which will best enable the student to form sound opinions. For instance, in the third chapter sixteen different definitions of religion suggested by various writers are enumerated, and after each Dr Garvie briefly states the strong and weak points which characterize it; while at the close of the chapter, instead of attempting a definition himself, he points out 'the necessary components of a description [of religion] aiming at if not gaining adequacy.' Science, strictly speaking, 'is only concerned with facts, causes and laws of resemblance or succession in facts.' But 'if it is the duty of every man to be religious, it is no less his duty to use his utmost endeavours to discover which religion has the highest claim as truest and best for his acceptance,' and accordingly the author devotes a chapter to the 'method of judgment.' The test which must be applied is the power of a religion to satisfy the spiritual, moral and mental needs of the enlightened man. This last qualifying adjective is necessary, for not till they are brought into contact with the Christian faith do many realize what their deepest needs are and the insufficiency of their creeds to meet them. As a preliminary to the actual comparison of religions some classification is necessary if mental confusion is to be avoided, and while mentioning others which have been attempted, Dr Garvie puts forward another, based upon 'the prominence which the different religions give to certain distinctive features or dominant tendencies.' In the final comparison, he confines himself to the three universal religions, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, and the points brought out in the course of the treatment of this subject will stimulate the student to further reading.

The book is a most useful textbook for the purpose for which it has been written. The brevity with which the subject has of necessity been treated will make it necessary for the beginner to read some of the chapters more than once if he is to master their contents; but given this requisite attention, there is no doubt that the missionary who has made its teaching his own will be in a better position to enter upon his work, be it among those professing one or other of the great book religions or the illiterate followers of one of the primitive faiths, than his predecessor who approached his task with a knowledge of his own religion, but as a rule without any scientific training which would fit him rightly to evaluate the religion of those to whom he was sent, or to use those methods of approach which a knowledge of them would suggest.

Foss Calcutta

SS. Kaiser-i-Hind

THE KOREAN SITUATION

Korea's Fight for Freedom. By F. A. McKenzie. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. $2.00. 1919.

The Rebirth of Korea. The Reawakening of the People: Its Causes and the Outlook. By Hugh Hueng-wo Cynn, Principal Pai Chai Hak Tang, Seoul, Korea. London: Central Board of Missions and S.P.C.K. 10. 6d. net. 1920.

These two works—one by a well-known English publicist, the other by a clever young Korean student of the Methodist Mission, educated in America—both alike owe their origin to the spirited move made last year by the Korean people to recover their independence from their hated overlords the Japanese. Only the merest echoes of that movement reached the shores of England. But in America, which has much closer ties with Korea, and where indeed the 'Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea' has its headquarters, the impression created was far more vivid. And it is plainly under American inspiration that both books have been written. Mr McKenzie indeed does not appear to have had any personal touch with Korea since 1906–7, when, as he tells us, he 'travelled largely in the interior.' Mr Cynn on the other hand naturally knows the land of his birth through and through, but he is apt to look at world problems through very American spectacles. This prominence of America in Korean affairs, and particularly in

Korean missionary affairs, is worth noting as explanatory of much. There can be no question that the wide influence wielded throughout the peninsula by the wealthy and widely extended American Presbyterian and Methodist missions has been a real source of embarrassment and of nervous irritation to the Japanese ever since the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, and that this in time has led to the assumption by the recent political troubles in Korea of a quasi-religious complexion. No responsible person now accuses the American missionaries (of whom there are over 300 in the country) of deliberately fomenting political disturbances in Korea, any more than any serious student of recent political history believes that Korean Christians were crucified for their faith by order of the Japanese Governor-General in 1919. The unfortunate cartoon representing this latter event has long been disowned by the missionary body in Korea, and the missionaries on the other hand have time after time been exonerated by the Japanese authorities from the charge of directly instigating the recent 'independence' movement. But it was certainly a misfortune that, of the thirty-three signatories of the famous Korean 'Declaration of Independence' of March 1919, no less than fifteen were prominent adherents (and in most cases pastors) of Methodist and Presbyterian congregations connected with the American missions and that many of the earliest 'independence' demonstrations were organized in their chapels. Mr McKenzie puts this down to the 'dynamic and disturbing' force of the Bible, freely taught by the missionaries. And of course Christianity has a tendency to turn the world upside down. It is, however, worthy of remark that in all the religious persecutions which followed the 'Declaration of Independence' last year, the adherents of the French Roman Catholic missions (constituting far the largest body of Christians in the country) as well as those of the much smaller English Church and Russian Orthodox missions were practically exempt from molestation.

It is of course quite impossible to defend the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910—which forms the central feature in both these books—on any grounds consistent with the principles for which the Allies fought in the Great War. Still less is it possible to defend the methods (luridly described in both books) by which the Japanese proceeded, in the nine years that followed, to dragoon the seventeen million people thus annexed without their consent to the Island Empire. Least of all can any defence be found for the

shameless brutality with which they endeavoured to suppress the movement made by the totally unarmed population of Korea in favour of recovering their independence in 1919. The annexation was, however, a *fait accompli* four years before the war broke out, and it was sheer (if excusable) muddle-headedness on the part of the Koreans to imagine, as they did, that the Paris Conference could or would restore their liberties. Forgetful of the way (fully described in Mr McKenzie's book) in which President Roosevelt had, in spite of America's treaty obligations to Korea, let them down in 1905, the Koreans have maintained throughout a pathetic faith in President Wilson (who was even at one time rumoured to have arrived in Seoul by airship to right Korea's wrongs !) and could hardly be persuaded that their country was not represented at Versailles at all.

More than half Mr McKenzie's rather ill-arranged book is taken up with the tangled tale of Korean politics during the thirty years which elapsed between Korea's first ventures in treaty relations with other nations (Japan in 1876, America in 1882, England in 1883, etc.) and its final absorption by Japan in 1910. And the pitiful story of misgovernment, internecine feuds among the Koreans themselves and questionable dealings with foreign powers shows plainly enough how the way was paved for the final *débâcle*. The Koreans themselves are a people of great charm and intelligence, with an inspiring national history and a fine tradition of culture behind them. And one wonders wistfully what the future has in store for them. Much of course must depend on the future of Japan herself, where signs are not wanting that the militarist and imperialist spirit now so strong must ere long make room for something more liberal and humane. Anyhow in the meantime it ought to be accounted for righteousness to Japan that she took to heart so seriously the representations made last year by Great Britain and other foreign powers as to the grievances of the Koreans that she changed the whole personnel of the Korean administration from the Governor-General downwards. The new Governor-General, Admiral Saito, appointed in August 1919, has a very 'difficult row to hoe,' particularly in endeavouring to moderate the police tyranny, which is one of the worst blots on Japanese administration in the mother-land as well as Korea, and to infuse a new and more considerate spirit into the vast hierarchy of petty officials, on whom he has to rely to carry out his policy and who actually represent Japan to the Koreans. It is a pity that both Mr McKenzie's book

and Mr Cynn's were published so shortly after the change in the administration that neither has been able to give to this stage in the 'rebirth of Korea' the consideration which it deserves.

Mr Cynn's book contains a useful appendix of diplomatic documents, ranging from the earliest foreign treaties of Korea (with Japan in 1876 and America in 1882) to the Treaty of Annexation in 1910.

MARK NAPIER TROLLOPE,
Bishop in Korea

LONDON

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM. By Sir VALENTINE CHIROL. London: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. 1920.

To those who are not constantly in touch with developments in Egypt by residence in the country, this book will be particularly valuable, not merely as a record of what has been taking place during recent years but also as a key to the political, social and economic conditions which underlie recent events, and in particular the Milner Commission. The story of the rise of Egyptian nationalism is peculiarly interesting. Sir Valentine has also analysed its distinctive characteristics with a master hand.

The first six chapters of the book give a brief but clear historical review of Egypt from the days of Mehemet Ali, the creator of modern Egypt, down to the outbreak of the war. In the last two of these chapters the manifestations of an incipient nationalistic movement appear. Chapter seven describes Egypt during the war. The next seven chapters trace the rapid development of the nationalistic spirit and party up to the time of the appointment of the Milner Commission. Two chapters in this section deserve special study and appreciation. Chapter nine on the social characteristics of the Egyptian nation presents a very discerning study of the obstacles to political self-determination which are to be found in the social structure of Egypt. Chapter thirteen deals with education and reviews the trend of the educational movement in Egypt. In this chapter Sir Valentine Chirol sharply criticizes the inadequacy of the government provision and policy for the education of the Egyptian. The last three chapters of the book discuss the difficulties

of the Milner Commission and present the author's suggestions for the discovery of an honourable solution.

To an American reviewing the book, *The Egyptian Problem* seems a fearless criticism of British policy. The author has two outstanding grievances against British rule in Egypt. The first is the absence of a clearly defined policy preparing the way for Egyptian self-government. The other is the absence of sustained intimate relationships between British and Egyptian officials. As to the first criticism, it must be admitted that it is peculiarly difficult to secure continuity in the political policies, whether foreign or home, of any country which like Great Britain or America is subject to the party changes incident to a democratic form of government. As to the second criticism, the spirit of fraternalism is so difficult to secure even under favourable conditions that it is easy to understand that a government like Great Britain, with the enormous demands upon her for personnel for colonial service, might not be able to command for service in Egypt a sufficient number of officials whose brotherly kindness would transcend racial, religious and linguistic differences and lead them to labour unremittingly for the development of self-government in Egypt.

Sir Valentine Chirol is not deterred by considerations of economic losses or of political unrest in urging a larger measure of self-government for Egypt. 'We may believe,' he says, 'that it will lead—at first at least—to very much worse government and to the revival of many old-time abuses.' He would agree with another writer who says, 'We have to be prepared to see them doing things by methods quite unlike our own, and less well: but on principle it is better that they half do it than that we do it perfectly for them.'

For the student of history, for the practical statesman and for the Christian missionary, Sir Valentine Chirol's book is an invaluable contribution, pointing out, as it does, the duty of a Christian nation to assist to self-government and self-direction a less favoured people, and yet pointing out also the weaknesses in the social, racial and religious structure of the Egyptian nation which make successful self-government a goal that can only be reached progressively through decades of discipline, effort and growth. Such a study yields rich suggestions as to the opportunity which is presented to the missionary enterprise, especially through processes of Christian education which may hold up sound Christian principles and ideals

for national development and which may provide leadership equipped with Christian faith and character for the great undertaking.

CHARLES R. WATSON

PHILADELPHIA

THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM

THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM. By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. London: Central Board of Missions and S.P.C.K. 10s. net. 1920.

THERE can be few Westerners living whose first-hand knowledge of popular Islam is equal to that of Dr Zwemer. For a quarter of a century and more he has lived among Moslems, and has been the whole time an acute observer and a diligent student. This book, therefore, regarded as a compendium of information comes with an authority as great as its interest. Folk-lore and customs never fail to fascinate; we read them as we read fairy stories; they are, as it were, a commentary on the brothers Grimm and Hans Andersen in the West, and on the Thousand and One Nights in the East.

Much of what Dr Zwemer has to tell us is more or less familiar, with regard, for instance, to the Jinn or the Pilgrimage; though even here his details and illustrations are full of interest. Other chapters deal with less known topics, such as the *Qarina* (familiar spirit), which is attached to every individual among us, and the 'Aqiqa sacrifice. He has collected a mass of valuable evidence on these both from classical writings and from his own experience. He makes clear, moreover, that he is describing popular Islam, not that of the educated, refined classes. But this at once brings up the big question, whether Islam can shake off its trammels in this and other directions, and meet the needs of the modern mind without merging its identity in that of a vague Theism.

How far, then, is the animistic element really of the essence of Islam? Without giving exactly a direct answer, there are two or three things to be said. And first one inevitably turns to a comparison of Christianity. In the New Testament we find angels and demons, powers of the air good and bad. The worship of devils is apparently recognized by St Paul as something actual. We have our interpretation; but what would the Moslem critic have to say? Later in history, also, when Christianity had spread over countries and continents, animistic superstitions abound, from the abject belief in witchcraft onwards. But on the other hand 'Christianity, as Harnack has shown, did win in its conflict with demon worship,

and is winning to-day' (p. 18). Nevertheless innumerable superstitions, often grotesque in their pettiness, could be collected from the beliefs of the less educated Christians of England to-day.

What, then, of Islam? Mohammed's supreme task was to disestablish the myriad petty gods and goddesses who crowded themselves in the foreground and obscured the face of Allah, whom even the pagans of Mekka acknowledged to be the ultimate Supreme. But when he had done that, his world was still alive with angels, demons, jinn and Satans. He took refuge with Allah from witches who played upon him with their knots. He adopted unhesitatingly the accepted idea about all these beings and their influence on human life. He was in fact an Arab of the Arabs, and it is with justice that Dr Zwemer reiterates that many of the popular beliefs he describes are based on the Koran and Traditions.

And in history, what has Islam to show? To the educated Moslem indeed these things seem the height of folly (p. 122), but the pagan who comes for the first time into contact with Islam finds nothing inconsistent in retaining his animism to the full. This is, in fact, suggested as one of the reasons for the easy spread of Islam, for no change in the general outlook upon the world is even hinted at by the Moslem propagandist; animistic practices are as much at home in popular Islam as in frank paganism. Therefore 'the missionary is not so much concerned with the fact of animism in Islam as he is with the utter failure of Islam to meet animistic practices and overcome them' (p. 18).

But does this mean more in reality than that Islam is relatively where Christianity was three hundred years ago in this regard? Even if Mohammed himself was tainted, may not modernized Islam come to differentiate, as we have done, between the setting and the jewel? Is there, in fact, the inherent vitality which will drive the religion to seek truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? Or does it somehow depend upon the appeal to the uncanny to maintain its glamour?

It is easy for us to answer such questions in a word, but it is very unsafe. *A priori* judgments are notoriously fallacious: and the task before Islam now is precisely that of showing whether it is able to reform and modernize itself. Any book is to be welcomed that brings up afresh and from a new point of view this vital question, without attempting to dogmatize upon the answer. Dr Zwemer does not do more than allude to it, being wise enough not to confuse

such controversial matter with the purely descriptive work which is the object of the book. That object he fulfils admirably.

R. F. McNeile

Uppingham

MISSION HOSPITALS IN CHINA

An Enquiry into the Scientific Efficiency of Mission Hospitals in China. By Harold Balme, Dean of the School of Medicine, Shantung Christian University, and Milton T. Stauffer, Secretary to the Committee on Survey and Occupation, China Continuation Committee. Peking: Medical Missionary Association. 1920.

The facts brought to light by this Enquiry, as presented at the Annual Conference of the China Medical Missionary Association at Peking in February 1920, deserve to be carefully considered by the various mission boards. Everybody will agree that it is impossible to expect missions to cover Asia and Africa with first-class hospitals. Nor can the average medical missionary be expected to carry on regular scientific research work. But this is not the aim of the authors. They are simply trying to find out how far mission hospitals in China are adequately staffed and equipped for the carrying on of medical work according to our present knowledge. It is no longer possible to carry on medical missions under conditions which are 'frankly opposed to every idea of hygiene and good nursing.' In China as in most other countries there is a growing demand for a higher level of hospital efficiency, and consequently the boards are receiving frequent appeals from their medical missionaries. Before any general action can be taken it is necessary to know how far these appeals are really supported by facts. The authors have therefore sent a lengthy questionnaire to 250 mission hospitals known to be open in China in 1919, and the 200 answers received show that in many of these hospitals it is almost impossible to do really careful and thorough medical work. This cannot leave us indifferent, particularly if we remember that these institutions are supposed to represent and propagate the good news of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us add that the report is not a criticism on the mission hospitals in China; it simply gives the opinion of each medical missionary on his own work.

The following are some of the facts brought to light:

80 % of the hospitals had only one foreign or foreign-trained doctor.
52 % had no foreign nurse, 34 % no trained nurse at all.

37 % depend entirely on the patients' friends for all nursing.
65 % have no isolation block or courtyard for infectious cases.
37 % have no protection whatever against flies or mosquitoes.
67 % have no screened kitchens.
71 % have no screened latrines.
37 % possess no bedding for the patients.
48 % have no clean hospital garments for their patients.
33 % neither boil nor filter the water before use.
50 % seldom or never bathe their patients.
9 % do not possess a bath of any description whatever.
43 % have no adequate laundry.
20 % do not sterilize their ward dressings.
73 % have no means of sterilizing bedding or mattresses.
34 % possess no pressure sterilizer for surgical dressings.
31 % possess no laboratory.
8 % have no bacteriological microscope.
40 % do not examine regularly fæces and blood.
52 % do not attempt major abdominal surgery.

In the out-patients' dispensaries

⅓ are unable to clean regularly and easily the floors, walls and furniture.
⅓ use no laboratory methods for examining the patients.
½ are too large to allow a careful examination of each patient.
½ have no dark room for ophthalmic investigation.
½ do not attempt social service and follow-up work among out-patients.

In face of these facts it is not surprising that those who have answered the questionnaire ask for 203 foreign doctors, 205 qualified Chinese doctors, 148 foreign nurses and 401 Chinese graduate nurses. Over 90 hospitals are in need of new or enlarged buildings ; as many need new equipment and 67 hospitals are asking for increased appropriations from the home boards. These demands are only for the development and proper conduct of the existing hospitals, and are supposed to represent only urgent needs at the present time.

The reviewer, who has personal knowledge of many mission hospitals in China and various other countries, feels that the efforts of the China Medical Missionary Association deserve to be strongly supported. It is not necessary to be a medical man to see that things cannot remain as they are. If it has been worth while to establish medical missions, it is our duty to bring them to a reasonable degree of efficiency. A large proportion of mission hospitals, not only in China, are working under most severe handicaps, making it frequently impossible to carry on conscientious medical and nursing work. Surely it is not unreasonable to ask that in all

hospitals the staff and equipment, both in the in- and out-patients' department, should be sufficient to make possible an adequate investigation of each case, which must include the main laboratory methods, proper medical and surgical treatment, competent nursing, feeding, bathing, etc., and protection from infection (cleanliness throughout, isolation of infectious cases and, where necessary, really efficient screening).

Efforts for the training of nurses and medical assistants should be much more co-ordinated. Many missions have not realized that good training can only be done where the staff and equipment are sufficient, and where the laboratory facilities are such as to encourage a certain amount of research work.

Some form of co-ordinate action seems highly desirable. A special inter-missionary commission, composed largely of medical men, should further study the whole question for the various mission fields.

P. DE BENOIT

LAUSANNE

AN EXPERIMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

AMERICA'S STAKE IN THE FAR EAST. By CHARLES HARVEY FAHS. New York: Association Press. Paper, 95 cents; cloth, $1.35. 1920.

IN England we are passing into a new phase in which the whole matter of adult education is seen in truer perspective and as a valuable potential factor in the shaping of national ideals. The movement is due to many causes. The way has been prepared by the Workers' Educational Association during the last ten years and by kindred enterprises like the Adult School Movement (a wonderful amalgam of Christian ethic and inspiration with hard thinking and the best educational science) and the 'Army Universities' which the British Y.M.C.A. developed behind the lines in France and had ready (with a wonderful prescience) to push forward with the army of occupation after the armistice. Undoubtedly, too, the experience of the army itself broke into the unadventurous theories, so current before the war, that a man could hope to learn little after he was twenty-three and that his mind and opinions were immovably set by the time he was forty.

The lessons of these experiments and experiences have been elaborately set forth in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee

on Adult Education which was appointed under the Ministry of Reconstruction, with the Master of Balliol as chairman. This report, extending to four hundred pages, is a mine not only of fresh inspiration but of guidance and suggestion, and it has been admirably summarized by Mr Arthur Greenwood in *The Education of the Citizen* (Workers' Educational Association, price 6d.) and elaborated in the valuable *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* (Cambridge University Press, 12s. 6d.). It is impossible to read these volumes without gaining the sense of a new vista opening before us of a possibility almost unrecognized hitherto of renewing the life and thought of peoples. But it is a field which can only be tilled at the price of an immense labour of thought and study and a wide range of experiments carefully carried out and watched.

We were tempted into this apparent digression by the perusal of a book of a totally new character, issued by the Association Press of the U.S.A.—*America's Stake in the Far East*, edited by Mr C. H. Fahs, the well-known librarian of the Missionary Research Library of North America. It clearly represents a new experiment in this field of adult education. Probably the most significant thing about it is that it summons the hundreds of thousands of members of the Y.M.C.A., and no doubt in measure of the Y.W.C.A. also, throughout America to a new Sunday afternoon occupation. Instead of listening to those very palatable Sunday afternoon talks on good things which have characterized previous programmes, the members are to be told, by the use of this volume, to think for themselves. They are to be encouraged to get at the authorities, to study both sides and all sides of questions, and then in the light of Christian principle to make up their own minds about them. This is clearly the adventure of this book—and it is a great one—especially in America! The volume, which we trust is only the first of a series, is a summons to study the international problem, or rather that part of it which concerns the United States and the nations of the Far East, and special emphasis is laid on 'the major question whether the Christian ideals and dynamic will in the end provide a way out of the most baffling difficulties in the situation.'

The volume is extremely significant, and it kindles thought and imagination to realize what Mr Fahs and Mr Harrison Elliott, his acknowledged collaborator, are trying to do. Yet frankly it is baffling too. One cannot read it (it is less readable than a dictionary), still less can one study it; it is as hard to peruse

it as for the eye to follow a succession of meteors darting from all parts of the sky. You turn the pages—'Why are the Japanese so disliked?' 'Just what should be the attitude of America toward the control of the Pacific Basin?' 'Why has the white man assumed that his colour should rule?' 'What can America do to secure her fair share of oriental trade in competition with Japan?' Good heavens! No one can sit still in a study chair and think about a succession of questions like these. It is impossible. Instinctively one picks up the book and marches to the drawing-room to seek one's wife . . . a visitor . . . any one to talk to. By that token Mr Fahs has succeeded in doing two things: he has stung one man out of his lethargy—as surely as a wasp—and he has given him an irresistible desire to talk. And those are no doubt the two primary purposes of the book.

What then in brief is the method and form of the volume which produces these results? Each chapter opens with two or more pages of questions—bewilderingly large yet dexterously personal. These are followed by a kind of anthology of answers, culled and most skilfully grouped so as to give the reader access to what all the great modern writers and speakers have written and said: Zimmern and Mott, Harry Ward and A. L. Smith, Bashford and Walter Legh, Prince Lazarovich Hrebelianovich and Basil Mathews, Putnam Weale and Setsuo Uenoda and many others meet within this binding.

The inevitable reaction which arises in an English mind is a suspicion that the questions are leading questions, each meant to head the reader into the arms of the next until he arrives at last before the horns of a dilemma upon which he never meant to sit or is shepherded into some fold where he knows he is not at home. Similarly of the ample reference matter. In spite of all the authorities quoted, does it really give the 'other side'? Probably it would not be wise to push the question too far. Nor would it be altogether fair to do so. All books of opinion which appeal to reason are *ex parte* books. For a man who has seen a vision of the kingdom of God both sides of every question are not equally right. And the Y.M.C.A. may fairly be expected to provide its members with reliable guidance in the formation of their opinions and enthusiasms. It is a great step when it challenges them to form them for themselves and does not ask them to accept convictions ready made.

In our opinion Mr Fahs and Mr Elliott are feeling their way into very valuable experimental work which we shall watch with deep

interest, wishing that we had as much of their spirit of adventure —or as good brains.

T. R. W. Lunt

Northwood, Middlesex

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND MISSIONS

Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Lambeth, July 5–Aug. 7, 1920. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Macmillan. 2s. net. 1920.

The pronouncements upon foreign missions which issue from the periodical Conferences of Bishops of the Anglican Communion cannot but be important events in the history of Christian missions. It is not indeed to be expected that the declarations of such an assembly, composed as it is of men who represent all that variety of view which is embraced within the Church of England and its associated communions, should have the definiteness and original boldness which mark the line taken by some individual thinkers or narrower groups. Corporate pronouncements of the Anglican body are inevitably marked rather by caution, sobriety and a certain spirit of compromise. This is by no means a bad thing. Original departures, new or revolutionary ideas, start, of course, with some particular individual or small group in the Church; they are almost sure to display at the outset some narrowness and one-sidedness, in the same degree that they tell by their incisiveness and sharpness of outline, and it is well that from time to time an attempt should be made to gather up in a synthesis, stamped with the authority of the official leaders of the community, the convictions and ideas prevalent in the body—a synthesis in which these different convictions and ideas may, so far as is possible at the moment, be mutually adjusted and harmonized. Such a pronouncement will probably not go as far along any road as some particular group would wish—even if it is the road along which the Church is destined ultimately to move—but it will show how far along that road the Church as a whole is prepared at the present moment to go, and if it halts somewhat behind the point reached by the more advanced spirits in the community, it is likely on the other hand to bring up a number of the more backward into line. Its importance will consist, not in striking out original ideas, but in giving a new authority and a wider currency to ideas already struggling for prevalence.

Foreign missions are treated of in three places in the little book giving the proceedings of the Conference, (1) in the report of the committee appointed to consider missionary problems, (2) in Resolutions 32 to 42 of those formally adopted by the Conference, (3) in the Encyclical Letter.

The report of the committee first insists upon the importance of the missionary call, the aim being not only the conversion of individuals but the planting of new active Churches ; it then surveys the problems connected with home organization, i.e. especially those connected with the relation of the missionary societies to each other and to the home Church ; it next passes to the growth of the new churches, founded in non-Christian lands, into self-supporting, self-governing bodies, and the relations between these young churches and the missionary societies ; then it discusses liturgical varieties and innovations ; the difficulties created by marriage, where the Christian community is in the midst of a non-Christian, and in some cases a polygamous, society, and where its members are converts from such a society ; questions connected with the administration of baptism ; and finally the problems of missions and governments.

The eleven resolutions generally endorse the views of the committee with the authority of the whole Conference, and the Encyclical puts this endorsement into the form of an eloquent appeal ' to the faithful in Christ Jesus.'

The dominant idea running through these utterances is that the aim of missions is to create communities with an independent life of their own, communities in which the varieties of nation and race find play, in which there are new interpretations of the truth and freedom in ritual and liturgical expression. This has been said often enough in missionary circles in recent years, but it is of great consequence that the progressive spirits who have been contending for certain principles should now have the authority of the Anglican episcopate solidly behind them. Of course, the concrete problems remain ; the real difficulty is in the application of the principles. For while in many matters—in the modes of expression, in the relative emphasis given to different aspects of the truth, in social and individual conduct, in temper and feeling—the Christian Church rightly exhibits a rich variety, as between one people and another, and a capacity for change, as between one age and another, in other matters there must be agreement over the whole world-wide body and an unchanging adherence to the eternal Gospel, or the Christian

character ceases. It is when you come to say exactly what things in doctrine and practice are universal and unchangeable and in what things variety is rightly displayed that the difficulties thicken. Towards the solution of these concrete problems the utterances of the Lambeth Conference, laying down large general principles, will not much help. Yet it is important to observe where they put the emphasis. At some times the chief danger may seem to be in precipitate change and wild heretical variation, at other times in a too close clinging to uniformity and stereotyped tradition. In the first case the wise Christian leader will, whilst admitting the need for some change and some variation, lay stress on the permanence and universality of the one faith; in the latter case, whilst admitting that all change and all variation must be governed by fidelity to the one faith, he will lay stress on freedom, autonomy, spontaneity in the life of the different communities. In the first case backward pressure is applied, in the latter case forward pressure The noteworthy thing is that the bishops assembled at Lambeth in 1920 apply forward pressure.

EDWYN BEVAN

LONDON

THE MEDICAL MISSIONARY AND HIS TASK

MEDICAL MISSIONS: THE TWOFOLD TASK. By WALTER R. LAMBUTH, M.D. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 1920.

SHEPARD OF AINTAB. By ALICE SHEPARD RIGGS. New York: Interchurch Press. 75 cents. 1920.

BISHOP LAMBUTH'S volume is an attempt to give some idea of the need for medical missions, to describe the kind of men and women such work demands, and to outline the scope offered in that life-work for wide professional experience and unparalleled opportunities of bringing health, happiness and God to men. Instance after instance is culled from many fields of the courage and skill of medical missionaries, of difficulties encountered and overcome, and of the invaluable service rendered by the Christian doctor in paving the way for evangelistic and educational work. With its numerous illustrations from the lives of great missionaries and its many suggestive statistical figures, the book should provide a mine of material for speakers on missionary work, who are on the outlook for telling facts and dramatic incidents. Again, it should do much to impress the home base

afresh with the value of medical missions and to influence the societies to express their appreciation by maintaining the highest standard of efficiency. On this point the writer is insistent, maintaining that it is better not to begin work at all than to have a second-rate hospital carried on by an overworked doctor, inadequately supported by a diminutive nursing staff and insufficient equipment. How far the book will be of value in directly aiding recruiting is open to doubt. It will probably deepen the sense of vocation in those who are already keenly interested in medical missions, and the information it gives regarding health and hygiene—or rather, disease and dirt—in foreign countries may interest a wider circle. It is to be feared, however, that the moralizing and didactic—though obviously sincere—strain that runs through the book will keep from its pages many who might have been attracted by a more dispassionate and impartial account of medical missionary work.

The Appendices form a valuable part of the book. They deal in turn with the never-ending questions as to terms of service, the age limit, climatic conditions, financial arrangements, opportunities for research, etc.; with world statistics of medical missions; with the findings of the Medical Conference of the World Missionary Conference; with important recommendations from the mission field regarding medical work; with Christian health education in China; with medical missionary societies on the field; and with legal regulations regarding the practice of medicine in various mission lands.

Shepard of Aintab is an interesting commentary on and corollary of the book reviewed above. While *Medical Missions* takes the whole world in its survey, *Shepard of Aintab* concentrates on Asia Minor; while the former touches at random on isolated incidents in the lives of many missionaries, the latter traces carefully the gradual evolution of one man's life; and while Bishop Lambuth's book gives a fair amount of space to abstract and theological discussion, A. S. Riggs' small volume delights in concreteness, in the swift march of action and splash of colour. *Shepard of Aintab* is in no sense a critical study of the life of Fred Douglas Shepard, M.D., and it does not touch on those abstract problems of missionary statesmanship which occupy so much of the attention of those working in well-established mission fields. Instead, it is a simple, well-written account of the life of a keen sportsman, an able doctor and a good missionary, who for over thirty years lived such a life that on his death an Armenian could say, ' I have never seen Jesus, but I have

seen Dr Shepard.' One sees the doctor training medical students and building up a hospital in a district whose intolerable insanitary conditions were buttressed by the will of Allah. One catches a glimpse of hair-breadth escapes from robbers and snowstorms and floods; and as the years pass and prejudice and hostility break down, one sees Gregorian bishop and Dervish sheikh, wealthy Jew and Turkish Hodja, uniting in the Protestant Church to express their affection to 'Shippet.' Seven years later the war-cloud bursts over Asia Minor, and a vivid picture is given of the tragic happenings of the war, of deportation, disease and massacres. Amid the seeming ruins of all his work, the doctor, broken by the burden of Turkey, dies. The book does not end on the note of sorrow, however, for the breach is filled by the young son of Dr Shepard, who takes up the medical work which his father had laid down.

E. G. K. Hewat

Edinburgh

THE HIGHWAY OF GOD

The Highway of God. A Study in some Contemporary Movements in Africa and the East. By Kathleen Harnett and William Paton. London: Student Christian Movement. Cloth, 4s.; paper, 2s. 6d. 1920.

A Conference on International and Missionary Questions, organized by the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, meets in Glasgow in the early days of 1921. This coming event has cast a shadow before it in the shape of a book written jointly by the missionary secretaries of the Movement, both of whom have been vigorously at work in the colleges during the past year.

It would be easy to criticize the book. The middle sections of the chapter on India might have been better arranged. There are paragraphs of well-worn facts in the chapters on Japan and China, and as one reads them interest momentarily cools. The African is presented through extracts from other writers; this, though the extracts are good ones, relegates him to a secondary place in the reader's consciousness for a time. Possibly in the vast range of subjects handled there may here and there be disproportionate emphasis on a fact—the present reviewer's knowledge is not wide enough to apply a test. But granting all this, *The Highway of God* offers a most arresting study of contemporary movements in Africa and the East. The book is an embodiment of the spirit of missions,

though ten pages would hold the references made in it to organized missionary work. The authors—and what solid work and strenuous thinking it must have cost them—have discerned the highway of God in the human history of to-day and have arrived at something like a unified conception of the place of Christianity in the life of the surging nations. It is along the line of this book that we must look for a History of Missions which will captivate and energize the Church. A bold analysis of conflicting forces in Africa and the East lays bare the fact that Christianity is potentially the most vital and pervasive of them all. The nearness of God to human life with all its aspirations and struggles involves the nearness also of those who work with Him. Christians, whether native or foreign, missionaries or not, are called to the heart of things. 'The place of the Indian Church is in the midstream of Indian life.'

After an introduction which indicates the scope and purpose of the volume, chapters follow on India, China, Japan, the Moslem World and Africa. All are good. The most noteworthy sections are the courageous study of Indian Nationalism, the brilliant summary of political changes in China, the sympathetic interpretation of Japan, the convincing statement on land and labour in Africa and the chapter on the Moslem World—a penetrating and well-balanced survey.

The closing chapter is on The Cross in the World. The whole message of the book is gathered up and related to the central fact of the Gospel—the Cross in which Jesus Christ revealed the mind and heart of God. Better than any attempt to analyse the contents of the chapter we give the final paragraph as a sample of the rest.

> We come back, therefore, in the end to personal courage and faithfulness to Christ as the great need of the world to-day. It is easy to talk and write of the application of Christianity to national and international problems in such a way as to lose Christ in the problems, or to resolve the Christian faith into general truths which are both palatable and harmless. The true spirit of Christ is revolutionary and redemptive, and it is exhibited in the world by those who have seized something of the unique glory of Christ and put their faith to the test in daily service at the common tasks of life. The world in which we live contains much to make the spirit quail. It is sometimes difficult to maintain hopeful enthusiasm for 'the new world,' of which so many men have dreamed and died without beholding it, when we look at half Europe famine-stricken, at race riots in America and political tension in India, at the world-wide ramifications of commercial enterprise and the new slavery of the black peoples. But the Christian has looked into the face of a more terrible scene, a more complete denial of God and of goodness than even our world

to-day. He has looked at Jesus Christ put to death on the Cross, and found there, with amazement and gladness, that 'the victory remained with Love.'

The book is one to be read and pondered and to be circulated far and wide. The days in which we live need just such a message, not only in the colleges but in the wider reaches of Christendom at home and abroad.

G. A. GOLLOCK

WIMBLEDON

THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

VOYAGES ON THE YUKON AND ITS TRIBUTARIES: A Narrative of Summer Travel in the Interior of Alaska. By HUDSON STUCK, D.D. With Maps and Illustrations. London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd. 25s. net.

THE Yukon is one of the great rivers of the world. Rising in the farthest north-west of Canada, it crosses the whole breadth of Alaska, and ends a tortuous course of some 2500 miles in the Behring Sea. Although the mouths and lower waters of the river were known to the Russians, its general course was only made out some seventy years ago by John Bell, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, who crossed the extreme end of the Rocky Mountain chain in 1842. There is an old Indian woman still living (or was when this book was written) who remembers his coming.

On the Yukon and its tributaries the author of this finely illustrated volume has journeyed in his launch *Pelican* thirty thousand miles since the present century opened. He had previously published an account of ten thousand miles' winter travel with a dog-sled, and now he tells us of his summer journeys. His descriptions of the country, of the picturesque mountain ranges and the desolate flats through which the great river winds its way, of the sparse Indian and Eskimo population, and of the still fewer white traders and settlers, are full of interest. Archdeacon Stuck was a clergyman of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, working under Bishop Rowe of Alaska. That territory was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867, and the Church has since then been the only representative there of Protestant Christendom; but Roman missionaries are also at work, and on the coast the Russo-Greek Church still has a small mission.

But, as the Archdeacon rightly tells us, the English Church was

on the Yukon before the American. C.M.S. missionaries from Manitoba travelled northward, and reached Fort Yukon, a trading post established by Bell's successors, in 1861. One of them was Robert McDonald, afterwards Archdeacon of the Yukon, the translator into the Tukudh language of the whole New Testament, parts of the Old and prayers, hymns, etc. He lived to complete a missionary career of over sixty years, dying in 1913. 'His name,' writes Dr Stuck, 'is held in the highest veneration by the natives.' Another great Anglican missionary was Bishop Bompas, whose life has been written, and who in forty-one years only once visited England (to be consecrated), and, besides that, only once came into the range of ordinary civilization, at Winnipeg. His successor, the present Bishop Stringer, is now familiarly known in England as the bishop who saved his life by eating his own sealskin boots. That Tukudh Mission has been a notable one, with its hundreds of baptized converts—its 'Christian leaders,' not paid catechists, but living by fishing and hunting like their fellows—and its three or four ordained clergymen.

But this English Church Mission—now in fact a mission of the Canadian Anglican Church—is mainly (if not exclusively) on the upper rivers within the Dominion of Canada. The American Church, in Alaska, has the largest share of the Yukon and its affluents; and its share of heroic workers too, both men and women. Dr Stuck tells us of Miss Farthing, sister of the present Bishop of Montreal, who joined the American Mission, started an Indian school at a place where 'there was naught but a rascally liquor-peddling trading post,' 'devoted herself body and soul for three years to the children, and in a very true sense laid down her life for them.' 'A dissolute half-breed broke into the house in the dead of a winter's night, gun in hand,' to avenge himself for her refusal to hand one of her girls to him; and the shock killed her.

Few people took any interest in the Yukon and the vast lands through which it flows until suddenly the report of gold there was flashed round the world in 1897, and the rush to Klondyke began—'The most extravagant and sensational of all such adventures of mankind,' says Dr Stuck. He mentions the curious fact—hitherto unknown in England, so far as the present writer is aware—that the original discoverer of gold was the missionary Robert McDonald himself, as far back as the early sixties. He cared nothing for it, and those he told seem to have taken no notice of it for five-and-

twenty years. Then many gold-seekers became rich; but many more of the thousands who poured into the country perished miserably, and now the worked-out goldfield is dotted with decayed and deserted settlements. The effect on the Indians of such an invasion by the scum of our white populations was deplorable. Archdeacon Stuck gives abundant evidence that the best influence now exercised is that of the missionaries. 'They have,' he writes, 'cheerfully incurred all sorts of personal odium in the struggle to protect the natives from those who for lust or gain would debauch and destroy them.' What sort of practical service the Christian natives may render is very pleasantly indicated in the unexpected and unique dedication: 'To Walter Harper, Arthur Wright and John Fredson, native Alaskan youths, . . . engineers and pilots of the launch *Pelican*, and dog-drivers and trail attendants on many thousand miles, . . . this book is dedicated in affectionate acknowledgment of faithful and kindly service.'

EUGENE STOCK

BOURNEMOUTH

COUNSEL FOR YOUNG MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

A MANUAL FOR YOUNG MISSIONARIES TO CHINA. Edited by ARTHUR H. SMITH, D.D. Shanghai: Christian Literature Publishing House. 1918.

THIS Manual—one of the first, so far as the reviewer is aware, prepared in a mission field for the guidance of new workers—is brief and comprehensive. In its 114 pages it deals with the missionary's physical life, his study of the Chinese language, his intellectual life, his relation to the Chinese and to his fellow missionaries, and with his spiritual life. There are three appendices (pp. 115–34) dealing with account keeping, housekeeping and the best use of furlough. The writers are persons of expert knowledge and most of them of long service. Any reader who has himself been on the field must recognize that the book is written by those who know the conditions of which they speak.

The medical advice of the first chapter is level even to lay intelligence. Possibly not all medical men would agree with every part of it, e.g. the cold morning bath and the use of meat only once a day. To the mere layman the advice to avoid 'in crowded streets' all contact with clothing probably contaminated seems a counsel of perfection. The use of 'the individual atomizer' will have to be more common

at home before it becomes common abroad. Two months away from the heat of the plain seems a liberal allowance ; but the context in which this suggestion is made should guard it from abuse. The second chapter is written from the point of view of Mandarin-speaking fields and requires a little adaptation in its application to regions where other dialects are spoken. Perhaps in every field the missionary needs to be warned that to speak the language of the market-place is not the same as to be a good speaker of the vernacular. In his desire to be understood of the common people he should not neglect the accent and vocabulary of gentle folk. Sound advice is given as to the continued use of the notebook, the value of doing some general work before specializing, the importance of discriminating and finding proper terms for the diverse meanings covered by one term in English. The advice to start speaking soon is good. Nothing so makes a word or phrase one's own as having used it. But he who starts early must be on his guard lest by repetition early errors become inveterate. There is room for difference of opinion as to the proper time for beginning the study of the Classics. A taste of them lends variety to one's studies not displeasing either to student or to teacher, and with the help of Legge's translation and notes the student, especially if he has had previous linguistic training, can do useful work when his teacher is absent. Chapter III contains some things the application of which is common to all men. Most of it is more germane to a missionary's life. Quite important is the warning against intellectual dry-rot, and some of the suggested prophylactics are accessible to all missionaries, though there must be many a missionary who impotently envies his fellow who secures two hours a day for solid literature other than Chinese. Here as in so much else a balance has to be struck against conflicting claims. If the time of an inevitable delay may be redeemed by the reading of a book, it may also be the opportunity for friendly contact with some one who would otherwise have been unreached : and so with the time on train or steamer. Mrs Sinclair Stevenson's articles in the *International Review of Missions* well illustrate the advice here given to take an intelligent interest in the life around him. To what is said of magazine reading it might be added that it is well to expose our minds occasionally to the stimulus of views with which we disagree. Much shrewd advice is found in the fourth and fifth chapters. More explicitness is sometimes desirable, e.g. a young missionary might wonder what moral he is intended to draw from the cases cited on p. 52,

and while it is truly said that principles of action should be understood in advance of action itself, the principles are not enunciated and the young missionary is left asking what he is to do (p. 54). A Manual should above all things be plain. Chapter VI rightly begins by laying stress on evangelism. Amid the increasing complexity of missionary work this needs to be done so that all forms of it may be kept truly missionary. The Manual does not fail in this respect in any of its sections. The distinction between making men Theists and making Christians must not be pressed too far. The proclamation of God, one and good, is a great gospel. Perhaps the condemnation of what is rather misleadingly called 'preaching at random' is too unqualified, so long as in preaching halls miscellaneous audiences gather. Both there and on itineration there seems to be a place for it alongside of more specialized evangelism. The second section of this chapter rightly lays stress on the spiritual objective of all missionary work, and on personal experience of Jesus Christ as the indispensable initiation to a missionary life. The three appendices are likely to be useful.

There are rather numerous faults of expression, incoherent sequence, bad paragraphing and the like which should be eliminated.

P. J. MACLAGAN

LONDON

SHORTER NOTICE

Un Siècle de Mission Protestante à Madagascar. By Gustave Mondain (Paris: Société des Missions Évangéliques. 10 fr. 1920). This book is an epitome of the difficulties and triumphs of missionary work. It tells of the troubles endured by the early missionaries in Madagascar, of the triumphant passing of the martyrs and the spreading of the Evangel. It traces, in dispassionate fashion, the course of events—the outbreak of war with Europeans, the issue of government codes and regulations, the co-existence of Roman and Protestant missions, the difficulties of Christian work carried on largely by missionaries who do not belong to the country that controls the territory—these are some of the problems incidentally touched on by the writer. The book does not elaborate the lesson of a century's work, nor does it provide ready-made solutions of the problems raised. Wisely, it leaves that to the reader, on whom it does succeed in impressing a deeper conception of the difficulty and complexity and value of the missionary's work.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Pastor Lic. Martin Schlunk is Missionsinspektor of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft and has lately been appointed Secretary of the Deutsche Evangelische Missionsausschuss, a body analogous to the general missionary conferences in America and Great Britain. His article was written in German and the translation has been revised by the author.

The Rev. Arthur Shearly Cripps is a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and has worked in Southern Rhodesia since 1901.

The Rev. Donald Fraser of Loudon, West Nyasaland, has been a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland since 1896.

Miss Amy C. Bosanquet went to Japan in 1892 in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. She is now working with the Christian Literature Society of Japan as Secretary for Women and Children.

The writers of book reviews are the Right Rev. Bishop Westcott, Metropolitan of India; the Right Rev. Bishop Trollope of Korea; the Rev. Charles R. Watson, D.D., of Philadelphia and Cairo, secretary of the American University in Egypt; the Rev. R. F. McNeile, formerly a missionary in Egypt, now a housemaster at Uppingham; Pierre de Benoit, M.D., formerly a missionary in India and now a secretary at Lausanne of the Auxiliary Committee of the Kanarese Evangelical Mission; Mr T. R. W. Lunt, senior editor of the United Council for Missionary Education; Mr Edwyn Bevan, Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford; Miss E. G. K. Hewat, M.A., former Assistant History Lecturer at St Andrews University and now on the staff of the Review; Dr Eugene Stock, of the Church Missionary Society; and Rev. P. J. Maclagan, D.Phil., of the English Presbyterian Mission.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Mr Jakob E. Lundahl (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Missionsinspektor Lic. M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 160.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

I. History

†A Missionary Survey of the Year 1920. The Japanese Empire; China; British India and Ceylon; Egypt and the Near and Middle East; Africa; Other Mission Fields; The Jews; The Home Base. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 3–62. *1.*

See also *29, 71, 74, 75.*

II. Missionary Biography

The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot. Ernest Baker. Illus. Map. 334 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *2.*
A review is in preparation.

Mary Crawford Brown. A Memoir. James Strahan. Illus. xii+224 pp. London: James Clarke. 6s. net. 1920. *3.*

†Willem Luyke (III). Jonkvr. H. B. de la Bassecour Caan. MZW, 1920 (LXIV²), 127–32. *4.*

†Missionar Johannes Olpp sen. zum Gedächtnis. C. Wandres. EM, 1920 (Juli–Aug.), 109–11. *5.*

Shepard of Aintab. Alice Shepard Riggs. Illus. Map. xi+200 pp. New York: Interchurch Press. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents. 1920. *6.*
See review, p. 143.

III. The Home Base

POURQUOI LES MISSIONS ? RÉFLEXIONS D'UN MISSIONAIRE. H. Dieterlen. 56 pp. Nouvelle édition revue et complétée. Paris : Maison des Missions Évangéliques. 1 fr. 1920. *7.*

†FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. W. Paton. CMR, 1920 (Sept.), 216–24. *8.*

†DIE BEDEUTUNG DER MISSION FÜR RELIGIONS UND KONFIRMANDENUNTERRICHT. H. Schlemmer. ZMR, 1920 (Aug.), 241–52. *9.*

ZENDINGS-LIEDEREN BUNDEL. Algemeene Boekhandel voor Inwendige en Uitwendige Zendingt e's-Gravenhage. 2e druk. 175 blz. f 1.75. 1920. *10.*

†DE ZENDING OP DE CATECHISATIE. J. D. Wielenga. *De Macedonier*, 1920 (XXIV[9-10]), 139–49. *11.*

A VISION OF NO MAN'S LAND. A True Incident of the Late War. Senior Subaltern. 42 pp. London : China Inland Mission. 1s. net. 1920. *12.*
Addressed to young men who are seeking a life vocation.

Conference Reports and Year Books

NORTH AMERICAN STUDENTS AND WORLD ADVANCE. Edited by St John Burton. 654 pp. New York : Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. 1920. *13.*
This volume, containing the addresses given at the eighth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, held at Des Moines in January 1920, has a permanent value as recording the convictions dominant in the minds of missionary and student leaders at the close of the war.

See also *1* (Survey of 1920).

IV. The Mission Fields

Japan

(*including Chosen and Formosa*)

JAPAN, REAL AND IMAGINARY. Sydney Greenbie. New York : Harpers. 16s. net. 1920. *14.*
Lacking in insight. The author was a journalist and teacher of English in Japan for two years.

PROGRESS IN THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE. Robert Cornell Armstrong. Toronto : Missionary Society of the Methodist Church. 1920. *15.*

†THE FACTORY PROBLEM FROM A MISSIONARY STANDPOINT. Azalia Emma Peet. JE, 1920 (June), 157–60. *16.*

THE HEART OF O SONO SAN. Elizabeth Cooper. London : Harrap. 8s. 6d. net. 1920. *17.*
A well-illustrated story interpreting the spirit of a modern woman of Japan.

THE REBIRTH OF KOREA : THE REAWAKENING OF THE PEOPLE : ITS CAUSES AND THE OUTLOOK. Hugh Hueng-Wo Cynn. London : S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *18.*
See review, p. 129.

See also *1* (Survey of 1920) ; *22* (Geography) ; *101* (Christian Literature) ; *109* (Emperor Worship) ; *110* (Converts) ; *125* (Religion) ; *138a* (Modern Movements).

China

LES PEUPLES D'EXTREME ORIENT. LA CHINE. Emile Hovelaque. 286 pp. Paris : Flammarion. 6 frs. 75. 1920. *19.*
A review is in preparation.

IN UNKNOWN CHINA. Samuel Pollard. Illus. Maps. 324 pp. London : Seeley, Service. 25s. net. 1920. *20.*
A review is in preparation.

A TOUR IN MONGOLIA. Beatrix Bulstrode. London : Methuen. 16s. net. 1920. *21.*

†THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING. Percy M. Roxby. *The Geographical Teacher*, Vol. X, No. 55, 82–90 ; No. 56, 142–50 ; No. 58, 253–69. *22.*
Republished as a pamphlet. A review is in preparation.

†THE OPEN PORTS OF CHINA. E. T. Williams. *Geographical Review*, 1920 (Apr.–June), 306–34. *23.*
Full of interesting information.

†CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE. Chen Tu-sen. CR, 1920 (July), 453–8. *24.*

†THE CHRISTIAN RENAISSANCE. Hsu Pao Ch'ien. CR, 1920 (July), 459–67. *25.*

†WANTED—A CHRISTIAN PROGRAMME FOR THE PRESENT CRISIS IN CHINA. J. S. Burgess. CR, 1920 (Sept.), 603–7. *26.*

†CHRISTIANITY AND GOVERNMENT STUDENTS. A Symposium. CR, 1920 (Aug.), 537–46. *27.*

†SPECIAL WORK AMONG CHINESE BUDDHISTS. K. L. Reichelt. CR, 1920 (July), 491–7. *28.*

†BILDER AUS DER GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN CHINA ALLIANZ MISSION BARMEN. K. Engler. EM, 1920 (Juli–Aug.), 77–106. *29.*

THE SONGS OF PASTOR HSI. Translated from the Chinese by Francesca French. ix+44 pp. London : China Inland Mission. 1s. net. 1920. *30.*

THE FULFILMENT OF A DREAM OF PASTOR HSI. A. Mildred Cable. Third and popular edition. xx+268 pp. Appendix. London : China Inland Mission. 2s. 6d. net. 1920. *31.*
The price of the first edition published in 1917 was 5s. net.

THE POWERS OF DARKNESS. A. Mildred Cable. vii+21 pp. London: China Inland Mission. 6d. net. 1920. *32.*
Observations on demonology in China reprinted from *The Fulfilment of a Dream of Pastor Hsi.*

See also *1* (Survey of 1920); *85* (Leibniz); *90* (Manual); *91* (Health); *100* (Medical Association); *103* (Church Union); *110* (Converts); *111–5* (Religion); *138a* (Modern Movements); *146–7* (Young People).

Malay Archipelago

†EEN REIS DOOR HET WESTELIJK DEEL VAN MIDDEN-CELEBES. Alb. C. Kruyt en J. Kruyt. MZW, 1920 (LXIV[1-3]), 3–16, 97–112, 193–216. *33.*

†MEKONGGA (KOLOKA). M. van der Klift. MZW, 1920 (LXIV[2, 3]), 140–55, 241–56. *34.*

†GEESTELIJKE OPWEKKING OP NIAS. C. W. Th. van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam. *De Rijnsche Zending*, 1920 (LI[7, 8, 9]), 51–5, 57–81, 67–71. *35.*

See also *95*, *105* (Church Organization); *141* (Government and Missions).

British India and Ceylon

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil. Translated from the French by V. S. Swāmīnādha Dīkshitar. 115 pp. Pondicherry. Rs. 3. 1920. *36.*

A GUIDE TO THE OLD OBSERVATORIES AT DELHI, JAIPUR, UJJAIN, BENARES. G. R. Kaye. 108 pp. with 15 plates. Calcutta: Government Press. 3s. 6d. 1920. *37.*

DUPLEIX AND CLIVE. THE BEGINNING OF EMPIRE. Henry Dodwell. xix+277 pp. London: Methuen. 1920. *38.*

THE KINGDOM OF JAFANAPATAM IN 1645: An Account of its Administrative Organization from the Portuguese Archives. P. E. Pieris. iv+67 pp. Colombo. 1920. *39.*

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, 1757–1858. W. H. Hutton. 31 pp. London: National Home Reading Union. 1s. net. 1920. *40.*

INDIA AT THE CROSSWAYS. THE REDE LECTURE FOR 1920. Lord Meston. 54 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d. 1920. *41.*
An illuminating statement by a thoughtful and sympathetic administrator.

†VOM ERWACHEN INDISCHEN SELBSTBEWUSSTSEINS. Erich Stange. AMZ, 1920 (Aug.), 203–7. *42.*

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. Lajpat Rai. 256 pp. London: Allen & Unwin. Madras: S. Ganesan. 6s. net. 1920. *43.*
A review is in preparation.

†THE VERNACULAR PRESS OF THE PUNJAB. S. A. Waiz. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Sept.), 532–9. *44.*

MIDST HIMALAYAN MISTS. R. J. Minney. 80 pp. London & Calcutta: Butterworth. 1920. *45.*
A book of travel through Tibetan passes, full of colour and incident.

THE CHARM OF KASHMIR. V. O. Scott O'Connor. Illus. xii+182 pp. London: Longmans. 84s. net. 1920. *46.*

CHARACTER BUILDING IN KASHMIR. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe. viii+95 pp. London: C.M.S. 3s. net. 1920. *47.*

†FINAL REPORT OF THE INDIA SURVEY COMMITTEE TO THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA. HF, 1920 (July), 270–7; (Aug.), 297–307; (Sept.), 336–42. *48.*

†SOME PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF MISSION LIFE IN INDIA. Manoramabai M. Medhavi. HF, 1920 (Aug.), 288–97. *49.*

EVANGELIST BLANDT SANTALERNE. Harald F. Jórgensen. Den nordisk Santalmissions Historie. 225 pp. Kobenhavn: Lohse. 3 kr. 1920. *50.*

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. VIII. Part I. INDO-ARYAN FAMILY. NORTH WESTERN GROUP. SPECIMENS OF SINDHI AND LAHNDA. Part II. SPECIMENS OF THE DARDIC OR PISACHA LANGUAGES (INCLUDING KASHMIRI). Edited by Sir George Abraham Grierson. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing. 1920. *51.*

See also *1* (Survey of 1920); *94* (Village Education); *97* (Industrial); *104* (Union); *116–24* (Religion); *138a* (Modern Movements).

Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM. Sir Valentine Chirol. London: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *52.*
See review, p. 132.

†THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN. G. A. Sowash. MW, 1920 (Oct.), 367–76. *53.*

ECT BLAD AF ARMENIEUS HISTORIE K M A, 1919–20. Amalie Lange. 80 pp. Kobenhavn: Lohse. Kr. 2.25. 1920. *54.*

THE LUZUMIYAT. Selections from the Poems of Abu'l-Ala. Translated by Ameen Rihani. 104 pp. New York: James T. White. $1.25. 1920. *55.*
Abu'l-Ala was an Arab poet who lived near Aleppo about 1000 A.D. His work exercised a considerable influence over Omar Khayyam. This volume contains a brief life of the poet, and 121 quatrains in English verse.

See also *1* (Survey of 1920); *6* (Biography); *98* (Industrial); *129* (Islam); *138a* (Modern Movements); *139* (Treaty with Turkey).

Africa

(*General*)

ÁFRICA AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION. Fulani bin Fulani. 47 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. 6d. net. 1920. *56.*
A stirring pamphlet. Should be widely circulated.

†ARE WE GOING TO ACT JUSTLY IN AFRICA? Sir Sydney Olivier. *Contemporary Review*, 1920 (Aug.), 198–206. *57.*

See also *1* (Survey of 1920); *81* (Lexicon); *96* (Industrial); *138a* (Modern Movements).

North Africa

IN MOROCCO. Edith Wharton. 290 pp. London: Macmillan. 20s. net. 1920. *58.*
A useful and suggestive work.

See also *52* (Egypt).

West Africa

(*from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan*)

MISSIONS DE GIRONCOURT EN AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE. 1908–1909; 1911–1912. 626 pp. Paris: Société de Géographie. 1920. *59.*
Réunion de documents scientifiques du plus haut intérêt: étude anthropologique de M. Verneau (pp. 371–604), diverses notes ethnographiques et archéologiques.

AMONG THE IBOS OF NIGERIA. G. T. Basden. Illus. Map. 306 pp. London: Seeley, Service. 25s. net. 1920. *60.*
A review is in preparation.

RAPPORT AU ROI DE LA COMMISSION INSTITUÉE POUR LA PROTECTION DES INDIGÈNES. (Congo Belge.) 45 pp. Léopoldville. 1919. *61.*
Ce rapport examine successivement les conditions d'existence, morales et matérielles, de l'indigène: constitution de la famille, fréquentation scolaire, fétichisme, alcoolisme, dépopulation, portage, etc.

†THE CALL OF A GREAT OPPORTUNITY. W. H. Ramsaur. *Spirit of Missions*, 1920 (Sept.), 553–70. *62.*
A survey of modern conditions in Liberia.

†LIBERIA TO-DAY. Benjamin Brawley. *Southern Workman*, 1920 (Oct.), 447–52. *63.*

See also *106* (Kroomen); *108* (Totemism).

East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

THE ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA. Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale. Illus. 2 vols. 856 pp. London: Macmillan. 50s. 1920. *64.*
A beautifully illustrated work, produced in collaboration by a missionary and magistrate as the result of thirteen years' first-hand study. A review is in preparation.

†THE POSITION OF THE NATIVES IN RHODESIA. J. G. McDonald. *Christian Express*, 1920 (Apr.), 58–60; (May), 71–3; (June), 90–1. *65.*

†THE NATIVE, THE SETTLER AND THE ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA. H. B. H. *Contemporary Review*, 1920 (Sept.), 389–99. *66.*

†THE CHURCH AND GAMES IN AFRICA. Donald Fraser. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 110–7. *67.*

A MANUAL OF PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence, Naval Staff, Admiralty. 552 pp. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *68.*

See also *2* (Biography).

South Africa

(*south of the Cunene and Zambezi rivers*)

†AN AFRICA OF THE AFRICANS. Arthur Shearly Cripps. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 99–109. *69.*

†SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NATIVES. The Bishop Coadjutor of Cape Town. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1920 (Oct.), 78–105. *70.*

†NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), p. 118–20. *70a.*

Madagascar and Mauritius

UN SIÈCLE DE MISSION PROTESTANTE À MADAGASCAR. Gustave Mondain. xii + 372 pp. Carte. Paris: Société des Missions Évangéliques. 10 frs. 1920. *71.*
See review, p. 151.

America

A WINTER CIRCUIT OF OUR ARCTIC COAST. Hudson Stuck. London: Werner Laurie. 30s. net. 1920. *72.*
A live and interesting narrative.

A CHEECHAKO IN ALASKA AND YUKON. Charlotte Cameron. London: Fisher Unwin. 25s. net. 1920. *73.*
Contains some useful information on Eskimo life.

†A RÉSUMÉ OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS. Harry Thomas Stock. *American Journal of Theology*, 1920 (July), 368–85. *74.*

†DEN GRØNLANDSKE MISSIONS OG KIRKES HISTORIE I KORT FREMSTILLING. H. Ostermann. *Nordisk Missionstidskrift*, 1919, 17–29, 51–67, 97–116, 180–92; 1920, 16–30, 68–80. *75.*

See also *1* (Survey of 1920).

Australia and Oceania

ᴀᴍᴏɴɢ ᴛʜᴇ ɴᴀᴛɪᴠᴇs ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ ʟᴏʏᴀʟᴛʏ ɢʀᴏᴜᴘ. E. Hadfield. Illus. xix+316 pp. London: Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *76.*
A review is in preparation.

†ᴛʜᴇ ᴀᴜsᴛʀᴀʟɪᴀɴ ᴀʙᴏʀɪɢɪɴᴀʟ ɪɴ ǫᴜᴇᴇɴsʟᴀɴᴅ. J. Oberlin-Harris. EW, 1920 (Oct.), 327–38. *77.*

See also *1* (Survey of 1920).

The Jews

See also *1* (Survey of 1920); *131–5* (Religion).

General

ᴛʜᴇ ʟᴇᴀɢᴜᴇ ɪɴ ᴛʜᴇ ᴇᴀsᴛ. A. J. Toynbee. 24 pp. ᴍᴀɴᴅᴀᴛᴇs ᴀɴᴅ ᴇᴍᴘɪʀᴇ. Leonard Woolf. 20 pp. London: League of Nations, 2 Iddesleigh Mansions, S.W. 1s. net. each. 1920. *78.*
Students should note that from time to time small volumes which frequently bear upon subjects related to missions are being issued by the League of Nations.

ʜᴀɴᴅʙᴏᴏᴋs ᴘʀᴇᴘᴀʀᴇᴅ ᴜɴᴅᴇʀ ᴛʜᴇ ᴅɪʀᴇᴄᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ ʜɪsᴛᴏʀɪᴄᴀʟ sᴇᴄᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ ғᴏʀᴇɪɢɴ ᴏғғɪᴄᴇ. London: H.M. Stationery Office. *79.*
Among these handbooks, which vary in price from 1s. to 4s., are several giving good historical and geographical studies, mostly pre-war, of various countries, including some in which missions are at work.

†ᴛʜᴇ ᴀɴᴛʜʀᴏᴘᴏʟᴏɢʏ ᴏғ ᴀsɪᴀᴛɪᴄ ᴘᴇᴏᴘʟᴇs. Ales Hrdlicka. *China Medical Journal*, 1920 (July), 30–9. *80.*

See also *99* (Medical Missions); *143* (Scandinavian Missions); *138a* (History).

V. Works of Reference

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VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

ᴅɪᴇ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴsᴘʀᴇᴅɪɢᴛ ᴅᴇs ᴀᴘᴏsᴛᴇʟs ᴘᴀᴜʟᴜs. D. Albrecht. Oepke. viii+240 pp. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. M. 15. 1920. *83.*
A review is in preparation.

†ᴀ ᴘʜɪʟᴏsᴏᴘʜɪᴄᴀʟ ɪɴᴛᴇʀᴘʀᴇᴛᴀᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴᴀʀʏ ɪᴅᴇᴀ. J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 63–76. *84.*

ɢ. ᴡ. ᴠᴏɴ ʟᴇɪʙɴɪᴢ ᴜɴᴅ ᴅɪᴇ ᴄʜɪɴᴀ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴ. Franz Rudolf Merkel. vi+254 pp. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. M. 15. 1920. *85.*
The value of this book will be apparent from the article by Dr Merkel based upon his study of Leibniz which was published in IRM, 1920 (July), pp. 399–410.

†ᴅᴇs ᴘʜɪʟᴏsᴏᴘʜᴇɴ ɢ. ᴡ. ʟᴇɪʙɴɪᴢ ᴇʀsᴛᴇ ʙᴇʀüʜʀᴜɴɢᴇɴ ᴍɪᴛ ᴅᴇʀ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴ. F. R. Merkel. MZW, 1920 (LXIV²), 113–26. *86.*

†ʀᴇᴄᴇɴᴛ ʀᴏᴍᴀɴ ᴄᴀᴛʜᴏʟɪᴄ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴᴀʀʏ ʟɪᴛᴇʀᴀᴛᴜʀᴇ ɪɴ ɢᴇʀᴍᴀɴʏ. Martin Schlunk. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 77–90. *87.*

†ʀᴇᴄʜᴛ ᴜɴᴅ ᴘғʟɪᴄʜᴛ ᴢᴜʀ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴ. Dr jur. Leonhard. EMM, 1920 (Sept.), 255–8. *88.*

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VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

ᴀ ᴍᴀɴᴜᴀʟ ғᴏʀ ʏᴏᴜɴɢ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴᴀʀɪᴇs ᴛᴏ ᴄʜɪɴᴀ. Edited by Arthur H. Smith. 134 pp. Shanghai: The Christian Literature Publishing House. 1918. *90.*
See review, p. 149.

†ᴡᴀsᴛᴇᴅ ʟɪᴠᴇs. William G. Lennox. CR, 1920 (Sept.), 608–14. *91.*
A study of the health of missionaries.

†ᴀɴᴛʜʀᴏᴘᴏʟᴏɢʏ ᴀɴᴅ ᴛʜᴇ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴᴀʀʏ. W. H. R. Rivers. CMR, 1920 (Sept.), 203–15. *92.*

See also *12* (Vocation); *51* (Indian Languages); *113* (Chinese Classics).

VIII. Missionary Methods

Christian Education

†ᴍɪssɪᴏɴssᴄʜᴜʟғʀᴀɢᴇɴ. Jul. Richter. AMZ, 1920 (Aug.), 177–203; (Sept.), 233–42. *93.*

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†ᴏɴs ᴏɴᴅᴇʀᴡɪᴊs ɪɴ ᴅᴇʟɪ. G. Smit. MZW, 1920 (LXIV³), 217–27. *95.*

See also *27* (Christianity and Government Students); *43* (National Education); *70a* (South Africa).

Industrial Missions

†ɪɴᴅᴜsᴛʀɪᴀʟ ᴇᴅᴜᴄᴀᴛɪᴏɴ ɪɴ ᴀғʀɪᴄᴀ. G. T. Manley. CMR, 1920 (Sept.), 232–40. *96.*

†ᴛʜᴇ ʙᴀsᴇʟ ᴍɪssɪᴏɴ ɪɴᴅᴜsᴛʀɪᴀʟs. John J. Banninga. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Aug.), 458–67. *97.*

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Medical Missions

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Movement for Foreign Missions. $1.00. 1920. *99.*

See review, p. 143.

†PROCEEDINGS OF CHINA MEDICAL MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION. Peking. February 1920. *China Medical Journal*, 1920 (July), 416–51. *100.*

See also *6* (Biography).

Christian Literature

†CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR WOMEN, GIRLS AND CHILDREN IN JAPAN. Amy C. Bosanquet. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 91–8. *101.*

IX. The Church in the Mission Field

ZENDING EN KERK. H. M. van Nes. Nieuwe Theologische Studien. III. 235–40. 1920. *102.*

†CHURCH UNION IN KWANGTUNG. H. Davies. CR, 1920 (Sept.), 641–6. *103.*

†THE RELATION OF THE MISSION TO THE CHURCH. *Christian Patriot*, 1920 (Aug. 7), 5–6. *104.*

Statement sent by members of the Indian Presbyterian Church in Allahabad to the secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.

†DE ORGANISATIE DER GEMEENTEN OP OOST-JAVA. C. W. Nortier. MZW, 1920 (LXIV[2]), 133–9. *105.*

See also *67* (Livingstonia).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

†QUELQUES COUTUMES DES KROUMEN DU BAS-CAVALLY. (Côte d'Ivoire.) F. de Coutouly. *Bulletin du Comité d Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, 1920 (No. 1), 79–99. *106.*

†ETUDES SUR LE RIO-NUNEZ. Dr Méo. *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, 1919 (Nos. 3 and 4). *107.*

†DES SOI-DISANT CLANS TOTÉMIQUES DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE. M. Delafosse. *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, 1920 (No. 2), 87–110. *108.*

See also *60* (Ibos); *61* (Fetichism); *64* (Ila-speaking People); *76* (Oceania).

Religions of Japan and Korea

†RESPECTING THE JAPANESE CONSCIENCE. Pierre Batiffol. *Constructive Quarterly*, 1920 (Sept.), 484–506. *109.*

An historical study, by a Canon of Notre-Dame, Paris, on the attitude of the Church to the worship of the Roman emperors as throwing light on the position of Christians in Japan to-day.

Religions of China

THE MIND OF THE EARLY CONVERTS. Campbell N. Moody. x+310 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 15s. net. 1920. *110.*

An able study of the Christianity of converts of the first three centuries in the light of the Christianity of Chinese converts to-day. A noteworthy contribution on an important subject.

LAOTZU'S TAO AND WU WEIR. Translated by Dwight Goddard. WU WEI: An Interpretation by Henri Borel. Translated by M. E. Reynolds. 116 pp. New York: Brentano's. 1920. *111.*

†LU IN CONFUCIUS' EARLY YEARS. Arthur Morley. *New China Review*, 1920 (Aug.), 341–65. *112.*

†DIE ANSCHAUUNG DER CHINESEN VON DER SÜNDE. A. Nagel. EMM, 1920 (Sept.), 245–51. *114.*

†GODS AND DEMONS. W. H. Hudson. CR, 1920 (Aug.), 550–6. *115.*

See also *25* (Christian Renaissance); *28* (Buddhism); 32 (Demonology); *127–8* (Islam).

Religions of India

LE VEDÂNTA. ÉTUDE SUR LES BRAHMA-SÛTRAS ET LEURS CINQ COMMENTAIRES. V. S. Ghate. xliv+146 pp. Paris: Leroux. 1918. *116.*

The five commentaries are those of Śankara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka and Vallabha.

SANKALPA SÛRYODĀYA. A Dream by Vedânta Deśika. Sanskrit text and English translation by K. Narayanacharya. 600 pp. Srirangan: Sri Vani Vilas Press. 8s. 6d. 1917. *117.*

DIE WELTANSCHAUUNG DER BRÂHMANA-TEXTE. Hermann Oldenberg. 249 pp. Göttingen: Bandenhoeck und Ruprecht. M. 21, gebd. M. 25.20; für England, paper, 7s. 4d.; cloth, 8s. 10d. 1919. *118.*

LITERARY HISTORY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHISM. G. K. Nariman. xiii+383 pp. Bombay: Taraporevala. 6 rs. 8 as. 1920. *119.*

One-third of this book is a sketch of the history of Buddhist Sanskrit literature; the rest is a series of essays on the same subject, written by the author or translated by him from French or German originals.

EPIC MYTHOLOGY. E. Washburn Hopkins. 277 pp. Strassbourg: Trübner. 15s. 1915. *120.*

This new volume of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research by Professor Hopkins of Yale will be very warmly welcomed. It was printed in 1915, but has become available in this country only quite recently.

THE JAINA LAW. English translation, with Introduction and Commentary by J. L. Jaini. xi+129 pp. Indore: Arrah. R. 1 4 as. *121.*

This is the Bhadrabāhu Samhitā, a chapter of the Jain canonical book, the Upāśakadaśā.

THE RITES OF THE TWICE-BORN. Margaret Sinclair Stevenson. xxiv+474 pp. London: Oxford University Press. 21s. net. 1920. *122.*

A review is in preparation.

HINDU HOLIDAYS AND CEREMONIALS. Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte. Illus. lii+281 pp. Calcutta: Thacker. 17s. 6d. *123.*

†MISSIONARY METHODS OF HINDUISM, BUDDHISM AND ISLAM. P. Chenchiah. *Christian Patriot,* 1920 (July 10), (July 17), (July 24), (July 31), (Sept. 4). *124.*

Based on replies to a widely circulated questionnaire. In the *Christian Patriot* for September 25 the accuracy of some of Mr Chenchiah's statements is questioned by the Rev. J. H. Maclean.

Buddhism

†BUDDHISMUS UND CHRISTENTUM IN JAPAN. T. Ammann. EMM, 1920 (Sept.), 265–9. *125.*

†THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION BY FAITH AS TAUGHT BY THE BUDDHIST PURE LAND SECT AND ITS ALLEGED RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY. Francis C. M. Wei. CR, 1920 (June), 395–401; (July), 485–91. *126.*

See also *28* (China); *119* (Sanskrit Buddhism).

Islam

†D'OLLONE'S INVESTIGATIONS ON CHINESE MOSLEMS. G. G. Warren. *New China Review,* 1920 (June), 267–89; (Aug.), 398–414. *127.*

†ISLAM IN KANSU. M. E. Botham. MW, 1920 (Oct.), 377–90. *128.*

†TURKISH IDEAS OF GOD. George E. White. MRW, 1920 (Oct.), 885–90. *129.*

†AAN DE MOHAMMEDANEN OOK. A. Hueting. MZW, 1920 (LXIV[3]), 228–40. *130.*

See also *53* (Egyptian Sudan); *55* (Arab Poems); *58* (Morocco).

Judaism

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY. Part I. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. x+480 pp. London: Macmillan. 18s. net. 1920. *131.*

Contains an able summary of the spirit of Judaism by Mr C. G. Montefiore.

TESTIMONIES. Rendel Harris, with the assistance of Vacher Burch. Part II. 150 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 12s. net. 1920. *132.*

A continuation of Dr Rendel Harris's remarkable investigation of the little book of proof texts from the Old Testament used by the primitive Christians, perhaps even before our Gospels were written. Important for the historical study of missions to the Jews.

EARLY JUDAISM. Laurence E. Browne. xiv+234 pp. Cambridge University Press. 14s. net. 1920. *133.*

Useful, though hardly within the purview of IRM. It deals with the historical problems connected with the Jews soon after their return from the Captivity.

THE KABBALAH: ITS DOCTRINES, DEVELOPMENT AND LITERATURE. Christian D. Ginsberg. London: Routledge & Sons. 7s. 6d. net. [Reprint.] 1920. *134.*

A JEWISH VIEW OF JESUS. H. G. Enelaw. 181 pp. London: Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net. 1920. *135.*

Other Religions

FONTES HISTORIAE RELIGIONIS PERSICAE. C. Clemen. 116 pp. Bonn: Marcus & Weber. 1920. *136.*

Die griechischen und lateinischen Quellen über die persische Religion mit textkritischen Apparat. Von Herodot bis Nicephorus Callisti also von 500 v. Chr. bis 1320 n. Chr. führend.

†IL PROBLEMA DEL ZOROASTRISMO. Raffaele Pettazzoni. *Bilychnis,* 1920 (Sett.), 177–95. *137.*

General

THE ORIGINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE. H. R. Mackintosh. viii+202 pp. London: Duckworth. 5s. net. 1920. *138.*

Scholarly lectures delivered in Oberlin College, Ohio, by the Professor of Systematic Theology, New College, Edinburgh. The titles are: The Meaning and Implications of Originality, the Christian Idea of God, the Divine Saving Activity, Redemption as an Experience, the Christian Ethic and the Absoluteness of Christianity.

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

THE HIGHWAY OF GOD: A Study in some Contemporary Movements in Africa and the East. Kathleen Harnett and William Paton. London: Student Christian Movement. 1921. *138a.*

See review, p. 145.

†ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. IRM, 1921 (Jan.), 121–6. *139.*

†INDIAN SETTLERS IN AFRICA. C. F. Andrews. *Modern Review,* 1920 (June), 618–22; (July), 9–15; (Aug.), 113–9. *140.*

†ARTIKEL 123 VAN HET REGEERINGS-REGLEMENT VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË. *Onze Missiën in Oost en West,* 1920 (Sept.), 19–32. *141.*

†La crise actuelle et les missions. V. Ellenberger. *Journal des Missions Évangéliques*, 1920 (Sept.), 146–53. *142.*

†Die Skandinavischen Missionen nach dem Ausgang des Weltkrieges. AMZ, 1920 (Juli), 186–91; (Aug.), 207–14. *143.*

†Wie können wir jetzt noch Mission treiben? F. Wurz. EMM, 1920 (Aug.), 213–7; (Sept.), 251–4. *144.*

†Uit de Javaansch-Maleische Pers. MZW, 1920 (LXIV²), 156–67. *145.*

See also *8* (Missions and Labour); *13* (Conference); *16* (Factories in Japan); *18* (Korea); *56–7, 65–6, 69–70* (Africa).

XV. Missionary Education Publications

Working Girls of China. E. E. Whimster. 64 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1920. *146.*

A development of the 'Heroines' series. The book provides material for the leader, but is also suitable for girls' own reading and for use as a simple study textbook.

The Book of a Chinese Baby. Mary Entwistle. Illus. 60 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. 6d. net. 1920. *147.*

Story material for the Primary Department and the home, centring round the life of a Chinese baby and his sister.

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given

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THE
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WESTERN INFLUENCE AND MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITY IN THE ORIENT

By S. H. WAINRIGHT, D.D.

It would seem to be an effort put forth in vain to try to present any new phase of the missionary situation. The Church has envisaged the foreign fields with a breadth and completeness of view scarcely applied to any other part of church history. Nevertheless, a re-statement of conditions relating to the propagation of the Christian religion is always in order; first, because the fields in which the propagandism is being conducted are passing through rapid and continuous change, and secondly, because our surveys are really very incomplete. There are forces at work too deep or subtle to be easily grasped. There is always promise of additional knowledge through a renewed study of the complex forces of human history. Our present aim is to seek to call attention to some aspects of the foreign fields which perchance may not have received that attention merited by their importance. Broadly speaking, the subject

When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

in mind bears upon the relation between western influence in oriental fields and the missionary opportunity.

If we go back to a date as early as 1835 for a point of departure, we shall be able to put ourselves in sympathetic touch with those who had to face, at that time, the question of the introduction of the English language and European learning into India. It was a controverted question. The controversy arose later in China and was agitated with strong partisan feeling. Not the faintest echo of these once hotly debated issues can now be heard. Time has solved problems which perplexed men at first and caused sharp divisions of opinion. We have selected the year 1835, for it was at this time that Lord Bentinck, supported by Mr Macaulay, offered his resolution favouring the introduction of European learning and the English language into the schools of India. It was to the credit of the man who was later to gain undying fame as an essayist that he read, as did Dr Duff, the lessons of times yet to come. The stand taken by Lord Macaulay on this question has been abundantly sustained by the course of subsequent events. Western learning, as if impelled by its own momentum rather than by the favouring influence of human opinion, and using the English language as its chief instrument, has invaded the life of India, China and Japan, and in fact almost every nook and corner of Asia. Still, it is not quite correct to speak of an 'invasion' in this connexion. The demand of the Asiatic peoples has had greater weight than the favourable opinion of Europeans in determining the place the English language should have in the schools. In Japan, for example, with greater zeal even than in India, the officials have promoted the study of the English language and of European learning in the national schools. An astonishing phase of this movement in Japan is the hearty support accorded to the teaching of English by the local tax-payers who for more than thirty years have favoured English instruction, though teachers of the English language have had to be paid the highest salaries in the

schools. In China, the missionaries long stood out against the teaching of English in the mission schools, though there were enthusiastic champions of the opposite policy. Every effort was put forth to make the Chinese vernacular the medium for transmitting the western learning which indeed was taught in all the schools. But with the breaking down of the traditional education of China and the adoption of European learning by the Government for the national schools, there arose a great demand for teachers of English and for textbooks in the English language. It may be said therefore that this chapter of history is closed.

There is one thing not contemplated by those who opposed the teaching of English and who sought to transmit western learning by means of the vernacular languages: they did not foresee the influence the English language was to have upon these vernaculars. The change produced in the Japanese language, for instance, through the wide study of the English language in Japanese schools, has been remarkable. Much time has been given to English translation in the courses of study. The two languages are thus brought together and their terms, idioms and constructions are made the constant subject of contrast and comparison. Outside the schools those who have mastered English give evidence of the influence of this language in their use of Japanese both in writing and in public speech. Under this process, the Japanese sentences have become shorter, honorifics have been dropped, syntax has been modified, and new idioms, metaphors and terms have been incorporated. In these changes there has been a gradual approach to the English language. In no respect has this been more marked than in the directness with which the Japanese of the present express themselves. The change which has taken place in the Japanese language has been similar to the change in the life of the people. The former style of writing and speaking was similar to the mannered and monotonous movement of a feudal procession, while the use of Japanese now resembles the nervous and con-

centrated energy with which the busy throngs move up and down the Ginza. The Japanese language is now a supple and capacious medium for reflecting European ideas.

This change applies not only to the Japanese language: evidences of it may be observed in the increased facility with which western books can be translated into Japanese. For instance, a book written in English can be translated with almost as little modification and adaptation as would be required in translating a French writing into English. Among the first translations of European writings into Japanese was the rendering of Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables* into the Japanese vernacular. The adaptation necessary was so great that the good bishop in the original turned out to be a Buddhist priest in the translation. In contrast to this, one will find in General Mori's rendering of Goethe's *Faust* in Japanese, five or six years ago, a literal following of the original, including angels and Satan and all other features of the language and plot. That such an enterprise has become possible speaks volumes as to the removal of barriers which at first beset the western approach to the Japanese mind. In truth, the process of which we are speaking has a deeper aspect still. Western ideas have been domesticated in Japan to a degree scarcely imagined by superficial observers of events in that country. As evidence of this we point to the scholarly works written by Japanese authors and published in the Japanese language. An examination of dictionaries and encyclopedias of recent date will show that the working ideas, conceptions and definitions of present-day scholarship in Japan are western in character and not oriental as one would naturally suppose. The elaboration of western ideas in the conscious (and subconscious) life of the nation from a sort of independent centre has gone on now for a generation. This new zone in the national consciousness has provided a broad point of contact with the current of western civilization.

The changes of this kind belong to the accidents of outward history which have no part in the inherent nature

of the Christian experience itself. What relation therefore can they have to the missionary opportunity? If the Christian religion is divine in origin and relates itself to man's spiritual nature, to that human capacity which transcends the finite, can there be any difference effected by the introduction of western civilization? Of course the answer to this question, in its deeper aspect, is in the Incarnation. To deny that these things have a bearing would be tantamount to a complete separation between Christianity and the historic conditions in which it takes its rise. It may be readily admitted that undue emphasis may be attached to the natural conditions contributing to the progress of the Gospel. In truth, the tendency at the present time is to see too much in a 'situation,' either favourable or unfavourable to the progress of missionary work. It has been our observation, after many years of experience in Japan, that the secular changes in that country, the recent history of which has been replete with stirring events, have not had the weight of influence we are inclined to attach to them either in impeding or furthering the Gospel. Preaching has made its constant appeal to the people alike in time of war and peace and during many changes in the temper of the national mind.

However, there is a point of contact between the secular and the spiritual. There is a 'fullness of time' by which the preparation is made complete for Christ's coming. The Master did not encourage His disciples to seek signs, but He rebuked them for not knowing the signs of the times. It is doubtful whether St Paul ever named so discouraging an obstacle to the progress of the Gospel, though he enumerated many, as when, in writing to the Corinthian Church, he said that 'the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.' It is as much as to say that man himself is the chief obstacle to the success of preaching, not his language or his customs or his social institutions. But there are obstacles other than the human heart itself, just as there are things that facilitate the work of the missionary.

We never deal with man in the abstract, nor in absolute isolation. At first, the gatekeeper barred the evangelist from even entering upon the premises, and later pretexts or excuses were given, courteously enough, at the door. But now the greatest barrier of all, the heart of the man approached, remains to be overcome. In speaking of the changes due to the study of English, though the comparison is not perfect, we have in mind these outer hindrances and their removal. The comparison is not perfect, for without a change in the personal bias of the master of the house neither the doors nor the outer gates would be thrown open. If we should characterize the missions of the nineteenth century, we might say that their chief problem was the breaking-down of the outer defences. If we should undertake to sum up in a word the task which confronts the twentieth century, we would say that it is the overcoming of the human heart itself. Everywhere, throughout all mission fields, there is direct access to the heart of man. It is an opportunity with which it would be difficult to find a parallel.

This leads to a consideration of the question of the effect of western learning, and one might include western influences in general, upon the nations of Asia. In some of the discussions belonging to an earlier date, it was said that the effect of western education was to demolish the false religions and to produce a temporary state of atheism. Being a rejection of that which was contrary to reason, this atheism was carefully distinguished from the infidelity of the West, more culpable in character because it was a disavowal of the Christian revelation. This atheism was a state of unbelief therefore in no wise hostile to religion. Indeed there was something virtuous in such a state of mind, resulting as it did from the exercise of newly enlightened faculties.

A more discriminating analysis than this is necessary, if we are to understand the state of mind produced among Orientals through western education and through a know-

ledge of western science. There can be no question that much has been demolished. The deification of nature, not to speak of other crude forms of native belief, received a severe shock as a result of the introduction of modern science. About the broadest generalization that can be made with reference to the state of mind produced as the first result of western education is to characterize it as a state of dissatisfaction. To say that the old religious beliefs were demolished or rejected is to use language unduly sweeping. The old beliefs and practices, like the temple structures, have fallen into neglect. The atheism of neglect is far more widely prevalent than the atheism which rejects religion. The rejection of a religion presupposes a voluntary relation to religion more in keeping with the West, where Christianity has had influence, than with the East. Men have not repudiated, by a definite act, the traditional beliefs of their fathers.

If we are to judge by conditions in Japan, one might say that a state of indifference has taken possession of many minds. This was the first effect produced by the new learning. Science seemed to be so secure within itself that old horizons were narrowed to the exclusion of the realm of faith and desire and fear. The method of the sciences was so successful in commanding assent and obtaining results that no other foundation was felt to be needed for human welfare and the new civilization. The Japanese came under the spell of science, and there can be no doubt in the mind of any one familiar with Japan that science was very destructive to the old faiths, not only in the secular limits its methods fixed for things of human interest, but in the application of the historical method to the study of records and traditions. The ground was cut from under many a structure thought to be secure. Science induced a state of mind averse to the supernatural or sceptical with reference to it. The study and application of science evoked the secular hope, the worldly optimism, so characteristic of the century just past. The study of science crowded into the background the

courses of the old Confucian education founded upon literature and history, and imparted a utilitarian bent to the minds of the educated classes, a bent to which the traditional training was very averse. The study of science had its effect in rendering the past to Japanese minds desolate and dreary, and devoid of fruitfulness, as they looked back upon its monotonies, and it made the future attractive by the bow of promise it threw upon the sky. There need be no surprise that western learning was responsible for the prevalence of atheism, if we mean by this term a state of indifference to the supernatural.

But to say that indifference to the traditional religions, and to all religions, characterizes the state of mind produced by western influences is to leave out of account much that needs to be said. Withholding belief from the prevailing religion may have been innocent enough, when the first recoil of the Asiatic mind took place from the superstitions and false philosophies which had been handed down from the past. But irreligion as a prevailing state has been productive of its own peculiar consequences. The trend has been to confirm men in their own indifference, to increase their inaptitude for religious faith. Asiatic peoples have become increasingly preoccupied with the production of wealth. The prospect of gaining a fortune through industrial production is a new vision. In truth, material civilization has advanced in Asiatic countries with such momentous power that many have been like the man who said he lost the sense of God when he stood by Niagara Falls, so great was the overwhelming impression of power made upon his mind by the cataract.

While on this aspect of the subject, a word may be said with respect to the false expectations of young missionaries preparing to go to the foreign fields. They picture to themselves their work as being primarily and essentially a conflict with the false systems of belief ruling in the minds of the peoples to whom they are sent. As a matter of fact, they will find a deeper struggle to be the agelong

conflict between Christianity and worldliness; a worldliness determined as to its forms by the materialistic forces of western civilization, a worldliness the influence of which is to inhibit and oppress any natural tendency of the religious impulses of man to assert themselves and to expand, a worldliness before the bewildering energy of which systems like Buddhism and Confucianism exhibit the greatest perplexity and confusion.

But there are more positive attitudes of mind with reference to religion. The term deism was used in describing the state of mind first produced by the European learning. If by deism we are to understand a school or sect, the term would be misleading. The Bramo Samaj in India might indeed be called a deistic movement. Certainly it was not atheistic. But if by deism be meant the attitude of very many individuals scattered through society, the term would not be altogether inappropriate. Deism in English history rejected revelation and held to belief in the existence of God. Something very similar to this has taken place in India, China and Japan. Very many have turned away from the systems coming down out of the past in the sense that they no longer recognize the authority, revealed or otherwise, on which these systems rest. At the same time, they will tell you that they still adhere to the substance of the traditional faiths, to a sort of extract of their virtues. Not infrequently, this substance of the religions of the past, to which they profess to hold, shows a distinct Christian colouring. Sometimes this attitude of mind expresses recognition of unity in all religions. Baron Shibusawa of Japan promoted an organization called the Concordia Association, the object of which was to 'return to the common truth running through all religions.' The lack of agreement among those who attended the meetings of this association gave evidence of the difficulty of discovering any common denominator for all positive forms of religion. Sometimes the attitude of mind we are discussing expresses itself as a new

statement of the old religions. Fukuzawa was an ardent advocate, in his time, of a reformed Confucianism. Numerous types of New Buddhism have made their appearance, while a man like Professor Kakehi, of the Tokio Imperial University, has sought diligently to rehabilitate Shintoism with the Hegelian philosophy. In this list may be included those who are favourable to Christianity but who do not accept the positive doctrines of the Christian religion. Count Okuma in a recent speech expressed the feeling of many Japanese besides himself, when he declared that 'Christianity formed the very substance of his life.' We were present and heard this remark, and we are convinced that the venerable statesman spoke with perfect sincerity and seriousness. And yet it is doubtful whether he accepts a single distinctive tenet of the Christian faith. There is not a little danger that a Christianity of an Arian type may possibly take its rise out of a soil so favourable to its growth. This aspect of the religious trend is broad and liberal and in sharp contrast to the type of which men like Professor Kakehi are exponents. The former occupy a position, though their opinions are less developed, similar to that of the Brahmo Samaj in India. The latter, with Shintoism as a background, are orthodox nationalists, and their position may be compared to that of the Arya Samaj. The views held by Japanese of the Neo-Shintoist type are as pronounced as the doctrines of the Hindu nationalists, though without a definite organization.

The positive phase of mind with reference to religion exhibits itself in a still different aspect. With the first introduction of western civilization into Japan, the people were stirred as never before by visions of progress. A new experience of optimism accompanied the widened and more buoyant national consciousness. Later, there appeared signs of social unrest and menacing evils, the product of the new conditions. It was discovered that the heart without religious faith was desolate indeed. Intimations became frequent, in literature and in conversation, of the

need of something higher and more satisfying than civilization. Aspirations were as a light shining in a dark place. There was an ominous restlessness and an indefinite longing, widely diffused, and which expressed itself for what was termed, in current discussion, 'spiritual civilization.' There was much misgiving felt with reference to the various proposals for new religions and for new forms of the old religions. There was no uncertainty in the insistent demand that Japan was in need of a religion. The European war came on, and, as an untimely flood sweeps away the first beginnings which have in them the promise of a harvest, so the wave of material prosperity the war sent to Japan had the effect of suppressing these awakening impulses in the souls of the people. The world struggle resulted in a set-back to what promised to be a very hopeful period of religious progress. Conditions after the war have not been so favourable. The present state of Japan, however, presents aspects growing out of the war which are favourable to Christian preaching. Individualism, for example, as never before is being sounded as a keynote. There has been a loosening of social and family ties in Japan as elsewhere which renders personal choice an easier matter, in fact almost a necessity, so great has been the weakening of the power of custom and tradition.

We therefore believe that the external order has been shaped and the inner experience of Japan has undergone changes, though the account we have given is very inadequate. In some respects we are facing conditions unique in the history of the Church. Early apostolic missions were differently circumstanced in that the first apostles, looked upon as illiterate Galileans and as proceeding from among a subject people and from a province in the Roman Empire whose condition was similar to that of Korea to-day, went forth relying upon no other power than that of the Gospel itself. What prestige they had was due to the power of the Gospel, which was everywhere spoken against. There is a closer resemblance between

the modern period and the medieval missions. In the conquest of Europe in the Middle Ages, it was difficult to distinguish between the Church and the Empire. The power of the Church rested upon its prestige, as much as its prestige did upon its power. Modern missions are likewise associated with the dominant civilization of the world. But in two respects their position differs from that of medieval missions : first, missions are church enterprises, originating and maintained as voluntary associations, with no relation to states ; and, secondly, modern missions, in Asia at least, are seeking to establish the Christian religion on historic ground where civilizations have flourished for centuries. Their task, therefore, is different from that of medieval missions, the work of which was a conquest of vigorous tribes still immature in the development of culture and social institutions. There is significance, therefore, in the signs everywhere apparent that the ancient civilizations of the East are beginning to yield to the determining influences of the West. A modern Hindu may have been right, though by us the nations of Asia are supposed to be senile, when he declared, ' I see that India is a young and living organism.' He may have been equally correct when he said further that ' Neither Europe nor India has arrived at such a stage of development that we can safely criticize its institutions.' We may even admit that both alike are ' two great experiments.' The sudden awakening of Japan into a life of vigour and energy points to the reasonableness of this claim. The import of such statements, however, is in the quality of vitality inherent in India and Europe alike which they presuppose, and in the ground for hope that the civilizations of the East, though old, are capable of being cast in fresh moulds after the type and power of a new life.

But what of the inward tendencies of mind and heart by which these living forces are to be shaped and directed toward ideal ends ? If we distinguish, after the fashion of psychologists, between focal and marginal fields of conscious-

ness and between these and those mysterious and residual powers that seem to operate from beneath the plane of consciousness, the first important observation—to which reference has already been made—deserving of our attention in a study of the situation in Japan, is that religious impulses have been thrust into the margin of the national mind as a result of the war. As regards those reserve forces stored up in the depth of the human mind, modern influences are at work upon the mind of Japan in a profound sense and in a manner certain to give rise to great changes in the future. Our duty with reference to the situation is plain. As we have already said, there is unrest and a reaching-out after something. But aspirations are not convictions. A yearning after God, even an anguished pursuit of the Infinite, is not a sufficient basis for the spiritual life. To adopt beliefs because the need of them is felt, or because the alternate state of confusion and wandering gives distress, or because it is imagined that belief itself without reference to objective fact is sufficient, is to disregard those conditions of a sound and wholesome faith without the recognition of which men can scarcely avoid falling back into superstition. We may safely assume that the feeling of vagueness and uncertainty will once again force its way into a focal position in the national consciousness. What Japan needs is that definiteness which finds in Christ, and in Him alone, a new creative centre of redemptive power.

S. H. Wainright

OTHER MEN'S SHOES

By EDWARD SHILLITO

The war ended one chapter in the interaction of West and East. What will follow, in the next chapter, is not yet clear. It is enough to dismiss as an idle dream the expectation that the East after a short interval of unrest will plunge into its ancient thought again, and let the West do its will. The old will not return; and it is for western civilization now to readjust itself to a changed order with all the honesty of vision, and all the wisdom it can call to its aid. Readjustment or catastrophe are the alternatives. 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'

In that readjustment to new facts the men and women responsible for the policy of the missionary societies have their part. They cannot treat the present unrest as a momentary episode. They no less than statesmen must deal with the new world in which they have now to fulfil their calling. In the traffic between West and East there is the coming and going of messengers, speaking from spirit to spirit. This impact may be studied alone; but in its operations it is inseparable from the other contacts between West and East. The witnesses of the Gospel travel the same roads as their fellows; they speak the same tongue; they handle the same material. They have the same needs.

They need in common with other men *a quickened imagination*. It is the poverty of imagination which perverts all human relationships. In the history of mankind the imagination has not kept pace with the growth of science and of the power which science lends. There was during the nineteenth century, as Mr Middleton Murry shows, a struggle between imagination and necessity; necessity

won and there was war. 'Humanity claimed proudly that it possessed a spirit that could dominate all material limitations, leap the physical abyss that divides one man from another and inhabit its brother's soul and body at will. But the claims had been pitched too high.' Imagination had not overcome the forces which separate men one from another; science had brought them near to each other in outward things; imagination had not levelled the spiritual barriers.

It is not in the relation of peoples alone that the imagination has failed mankind. Within any one nation how limited is the power of one man to see things as they appear to another, trained in other habits and traditions! It is probable that a middle-class Englishman will find it as hard to step into the shoes of a casual labourer in his own land as to see life with Chinese eyes. The East End of London may be as far away from the West End as the east of Asia. The bridge is of the same material and is built in the same fashion between classes at home and between nations and nations. The bridge is the same for viceroys and merchants and missionaries; and if it is needful for missionaries to let the imagination do its work, it is no less needful for the missionary boards at home. We must find means of crossing. We must learn how to read the modern scene from the angle of vision which they have on the other side. The twain may meet, and must meet. But they will only meet where imagination has its perfect work.

The imagination which enables a man to see life from the angle of others, not of his race or tradition, is not the only condition; but nothing can take its place. By its means Colonel Lawrence has repeated among the Arabs the miracles of Gordon in China, or Nicholson in India. These men had other powers without which imagination may lead only to paralysis, to the

> craven scruple
> Of thinking too precisely on the event;

but given courage and steadfastness of purpose there is no limit to the magnetic power of the imagination in human affairs.

Have we made the most of it in our missionary counsels? It is needed by statesmen in this most critical hour; for the western nation almost everything depends upon the capacity of its people to stand away from their own prejudices, and even from their excellences, and to see from the other side the problems which all mankind must share. It might be deemed unnecessary to urge this duty upon those whose sacred task is not to preach themselves but Christ Jesus: it belongs to the genius of the Gospel to lay low the barriers between race and race, and to make all men see that they are co-heirs of Jesus Christ; and without an imagination which shares the lot of a world without Christ, men would not be engaged in this missionary work at all. It is not that imagination is absent. But it may be pleaded that it should be allowed to do its perfect work. The need is such that nothing less than a great surrender of the imagination to the love of Christ will be sufficient. In such an hour 'nothing is enough.'

The missionary, and in an equal degree the board behind him, may fail not for lack of earnestness or industry, or generosity in gifts; they may have all other virtues, and if they have not imagination, they will fail. The lack of it is injurious in political contacts, it is ruinous to spiritual; and since the spiritual is by far the supreme interest in the commerce between nations, the call to the missionary is urgent, that he should set the tone for all others. If he succeeds, they too can succeed. It is one of the services which the missionary may render to his fellow-countrymen in other lands—to show how fellowship can be established with an alien people. It is not his first duty to condemn others for their failure but to prove positively that there is a right way.

Let the Indian scene be taken as the one in which the

relations between West and East are at the moment most critical. To that land with its ancient civilization we carry the gospel of Christ. That gift involves a new relation formed between races whose traditions give a distinct character in each land to the whole of human life. It is impossible for spirit to speak to spirit without any other action and reaction in the other regions of life. The missionary and his friends are not disembodied spirits; they are human beings with the deeply engrained habits and the prejudices of their race. The Indians who receive his gift of the Gospel are not spirits, but members of races which have received their character from centuries of experience under another sky.

Even if it were possible for the spirit of the missionary to read the spirit of his hearer, that would be insufficient unless he read with sympathy the whole varied complexity of Indian life in which the Indian spirit is expressed. He cannot isolate the soul and deal with that by itself; nor is it enough to enter by imaginative sympathy into the spiritual conditions of India; there must be an attempt to think with the Indian mind, as it surveys the human scene throughout the whole of its range. An Indian writer has written much that is wise upon this quality of understanding fellowship: 'Essentially the faculty or rather the sense of understanding fellowship consists in the power of entering into another man's skin, and of seeing things with *his* eyes, of thinking of things with *his* mind, and of regarding things with feelings after *his* heart; and in its highest manifestation it is the most accurate and truth-telling sense which the human mind possesses.' [1] It is not for the discovery of this sense there is so grave a call, but for its fuller and bolder exercise.

Some instances may be taken of the perils to which an unimaginative mind may be tempted. 'We come from the western lands which are called Christian,' the missionary may urge: 'Christ has made us what we are'; and the

[1] *The Message of Christ*, A. S. Wadia. (Dent.)

implication is that the civilization of the West, wrapped up as it is with Christianity, is superior to all others. Wherever differences emerge the western way must be right. There is no consciousness on the part of those who say these things that this position will excite any criticism or needs defending. That is how it looks from the western side. But the Indian will retort : ' We see your western civilization ; we recognize where it differs from ours ; but we are not drawn to it ; we prefer our own.' The retort surprises the complacent Westerner ; *he should not invite it.*

Each man can see his own civilization with the eyes of love ; he singles out the best in it as normal, the worst is glossed over ; but when he looks at another civilization he has another standard ; he is tempted to compare his best with the worst in all others. The Westerner will tell the Easterner that caste is a grave evil from which the West is free ; but the Indian soon learns that caste though disguised is not unknown in the West. He hears perhaps from the missionary that womanhood and family life are hallowed in the West, and are not as in the East ; and he answers, ' You speak of the purity of your family life and contrast it with the worst in our land. We read your divorce cases and we know the shame of your city streets ; and if these are an example of your Christian civilization, we are not impressed by it.' So the barren controversy proceeds. Each side is tempted to put forward its best ; and there is no just comparison possible. The fault must lie in part with us ; by our calm assumptions we put the Indians on the defensive. If we saw things from the first with the bold freedom of an understanding fellowship, we should not awaken the resentful retort. We should go with humility of spirit ; and humility always awakens humanity ; for humility takes the lowest place ; and it is there men come into fellowship.

From the same defect arises the acceptance of certain hasty generalizations upon the powers of administration and

leadership revealed in the Indian character. It is unjust to bring an indictment against a whole people. The contrast between the organized life of an Indian community and our modern western centralization is very definite. We see the contrast from this side with all our prejudice in favour of the vast, efficient, scientific machinery of a western state. But to understand how it looks to the Indian, is a task only to be accomplished by a difficult exercise of the imagination. It would be a valuable discipline for the western student of Indian customs to think out what is meant by *dharma*. 'The Hindu child,' says Mr K. T. Paul, 'is born clothed with certain inalienable duties. They relate him in very definite terms to his parents and ancestors, to his family and caste, to religion and to the sect in which he is born, and to the village or urban community of which he is by birth a member. The sanctions which held him to them are those of religion and society. Till British-made law prevailed in the country the entire citizenship of a Hindu was an interwoven part of the very comprehensive texture of his natal garb which is called his *dharma*.' How far is it possible for us to enter into the experience of an Indian, familiar from birth with such a conception of life in society? Is it enough to brush aside that ideal of social life as though it must vanish before the western ideal of a vast centralized, and often bureaucratic government?

The attitude of the Indian to the missionary's gospel is made difficult so long as there is in the missionary mind the assumption that the Indian belongs to a nation inferior in all its ways. No race of men ever remains unmoved by generous sympathy; but if there is one place in the world where sympathy awakens a ready response, it is India. Where sympathy means so much, the absence of it is so serious. If there is a missionary, stubbornly fixed in all his ideas, calmly believing in the superiority of all things western, rather dense and tactless, invincibly unsympathetic, there may be fields in which he can do

good service, but he should not be sent to India. And if there are men and women of such a character at home, they should be encouraged to devote their energies to some service other than the missionary cause. The sympathetic imagination in these times is not a grace-note in the Christian character; it is an article of a standing or falling ministry for Christ.

Imagination shows itself in many forms. It is humility and the humble that are still the inheritors of the earth, for they alone have the power to enter into other lives, and share the harvest of other eyes. Imagination is courtesy; for it is of the essence of courtesy to know how words and actions appear to others. All who report upon the mind of India repeat the warning that India resents western manners; the offence which is often given may not arise from deliberate rudeness, or even from selfishness, but from the failure to stand in the shoes of other men. We shall never commend Christ to India till we remember that to its peoples manners are a religious gesture, and life itself a solemn ritual.

Imagination means a willingness to receive as well as to give. There can be no greater error than to rob the Indian of his share in the covenant of friendship. No love can prosper without giving and receiving; if we could see with the eyes of others, we should be willing to let them give as they long to give. 'An Indian never loves a man,' one of their own race said to the writer, 'till he has done something for him.' It is perhaps for some such friendship as this the Indian waits. And why should he have to wait? It is not enough to think of him as a recipient, even of Christ; something of Christ he too has to give, something without which we shall remain with an inheritance unappropriated, and a glory still unrevealed.

The scene in India is one of critical moment; but for those who represent Christendom there the scene in this country is scarcely less critical. To the members of missionary boards and all friends of missions, there falls a

part in an age which will mean much for the kingdom of God. They are called to readjust their hearts and minds to a new situation. They must learn to take into their range of facts every contact between races, whether political or purely religious. They cannot afford to ignore any movement in the mind of the Indian; if they would commend to him the kingdom of God, they must enter into his life, not as members of a superior civilization, but as fellow-members of a humanity redeemed by Christ. To the Indian they must become Indians.

Such an exercise of imagination demands a denial of some prejudices and preferences. It demands a bold detachment; a freshness of mind; an experiencing nature. This detachment from things good in themselves and yet often the enemies of the best can only come through an adjustment to the mind of Christ. The imagination of the disciple can always be kindled by fellowship with Him. And it is the end of that fellowship to set Him free to work out His purposes through His friends who have learned of Him.

The missionary societies are between two worlds; their friends are tempted to act as though the old would return, and the temper suited to the old will be enough. It is hard to understand how changed the situation has become. It is hardest of all to stand away from the dear familiar world as they have known it, and to see what their brothers are seeing in other lands, and to hear with understanding what they are saying. In such a time there is one prayer which must rise within every heart that loves the kingdom of God. It is the prayer for Imagination, which may give us eyes and ears, and may enable us to 'brother every soul on earth.' It is to the Spirit of Imagination, which is the Spirit of Christ, the prayer is uttered:

> Be it thine, O Spirit,
> The world of sense and thought to exalt with light;
> Purge away blindness,
> Terror and all unkindness.

Shine, shine
From within on the confused grey world without
That, growing clearer,
Grows spiritual and dearer.[1]

There can be no one formula furnished for the missionary societies as they enter upon the new age; they will have to make thousands of decisions upon matters of policy; they will have to wait events, and learn by experience and even by failures. But the temper that is needed is plain. It is the spirit of those who have the fine courtesy of their Master, and the Love without which they may give their bodies to be burned, and it will profit them nothing.

EDWARD SHILLITO

[1] *Poems New and Old*, John Freeman.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND AFRICAN LABOUR

By J. H. OLDHAM

A REPORT presented to the International Missionary Meeting at Crans near Geneva in June of last year contained a section dealing with the attitude of missionaries to political questions in which there occurred the following passage :

> For the welfare of the peoples of the African continent a right solution of questions of land and labour is vital. It does not seem possible for missionaries to remain indifferent to these questions. Policies of European governments which are dictated by the economic advantage of citizens of the ruling power with small regard to the interests of the governed are essentially unchristian ; and there would appear to be a fatal insincerity at the heart of the missionary undertaking if missions acquiesce without protest in policies which deprive the natives of their rights in land and degrade them to be mere instruments of the white man's gain. The belief and message that men are called to be sons of God are not consistent with the denial to them of economic opportunity and of the advantages of education which would enable them to realize their destiny.

In the light of this and other illustrations from different parts of the world the question was asked whether the Christian witness can be faithfully given to the world unless it is borne in the sphere of national as well as individual life ; and whether the Gospel can be effectively commended to the peoples of Asia and Africa if Christians acquiesce in national policies which contradict its fundamental principles.

The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland had already been brought face to face in a particular instance with these issues, and within a few weeks of the meeting at Crans the missionary societies found themselves compelled to take vigorous action. At their instance influential representations were made to the British Government asking for an assurance that the pro-

fessions of trusteeship in the government of subject peoples, to which the British people are committed by their participation in the League of Nations and by the utterances of their leading statesmen, will not in any part of the empire be allowed to remain a form of words and that steps will be taken where necessary to ensure that they will be translated into administrative practice. It will be seen that an issue has been raised of the most far-reaching importance. The future well-being and peace of the world depends on whether the ideals which gave birth to the League of Nations are taken seriously. If we allow our consciences to be lulled by noble sentiments and high-sounding phrases we shall have gained from the war only one hypocrisy more. The real fight begins only when an attempt is made to apply our ideals to actual life. This will be the great fight in the years ahead. The battle has to be joined at a hundred points. Christian sentiment in Great Britain has asked that the issue should be squarely faced in regard to British responsibilities in East Africa.

The purpose of this article is to explain how the question first arose, how the missionary societies came to be related to it, and how as it was considered it was seen clearly to involve the whole vital issue whether the government of subject peoples is to mean conquest and exploitation or a trust.

In the British East Africa Protectorate, now known as Kenya Colony, a circular was issued by the local government in October 1919 dealing with the subject of native labour. For many years a native labour problem has existed in the colony. A large part of the colony consists of high land suitable for European settlement. This has led to the immigration of a white community of over five thousand and the establishment of farms and plantations under European management requiring native labour for their development. The native population numbers nearly three millions.[1]

[1] There is also a considerable Indian community in the colony and its presence has given rise to serious problems, but these lie outside the scope of the present article.

In 1912–3 a Native Labour Commission was appointed to consider the difficulties in regard to the supply of labour and issued a voluminous report. The problem has become more acute partly through the exacting demands made by the war upon the native population and partly as the result of a scheme for the settlement of ex-soldiers which naturally increased the demand for labour.

In the new labour circular issued in October 1919 by the Chief Native Commissioner, under instructions from the Governor, attention was called to the shortage of labour in certain areas, and the Governor expressed a hope that 'by an insistent advocacy of the Government's wishes' an increasing supply of labour would result. District officers were told that the necessity for an increased supply of labour could not be brought too frequently before the various native authorities. They were instructed to 'exercise every possible lawful influence to induce able-bodied male natives to go into the labour field.' Native chiefs and elders were told that they must at all times render all possible lawful assistance on the same lines, and that it was part of their duty to 'advise and encourage all unemployed young men to go out and work on plantations.' District commissioners were to keep a record of the names of those chiefs and headmen who proved helpful and of those who were not, and to report to the Governor. Finally it was hinted that if the labour difficulties continued it might be necessary to bring in other and special measures to meet the case.

It will be observed that nothing is said in the circular about compulsion. All that is urged is that government officers and native chiefs should use advice and encouragement to procure the supply of labour that is urgently needed. But among those in close touch with native life the circular created serious alarm. A memorandum was immediately issued by the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda and Dr J. W. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission. In it attention was called to the grave abuses to which the

new policy was likely to lead. It was pointed out that to the native mind a wish of the Government is not distinguishable from a definite order. While the circular made no mention of compulsion and urged only advice and encouragement, no one who knew anything of native life could have a moment's doubt as to the effect on a native chief when he is told by his district officer that he must do a certain thing and that it is part of his duty as a chief to do it. While technically there was no compulsion, 'practically compulsion could hardly take a stronger form.' The authors of the memorandum went on to say that, while they were gravely concerned about the effects of the new circular, they 'would favour some form of compulsion, at any rate for work of national importance.' The view which they took was that, in the actual circumstances existing in Kenya Colony, compulsion in some form was inevitable. Indirect pressure had been going on for years. The only means, as it appeared to them, of meeting the difficulty and of preventing abuses was for the Government to assume direct responsibility by making the compulsion legal and introducing strict legal safeguards. The authors of the memorandum indicated what these safeguards should be in order to protect the natives as far as possible from excessive pressure.

When the Bishops' Memorandum, as the document came to be called, reached Great Britain a great deal of misgiving was aroused. It was felt that things must be very bad if those who had the interest of the natives most at heart were driven to advocate legal compulsion. If that seemed preferable to the abuses of the present system, a situation plainly existed which required those who believed in the principles of trusteeship to bestir themselves. While the missionaries on the spot, knowing themselves to be powerless without the support of strong public opinion at home of which they could not be assured, saw no remedy except for Government to assume direct responsibility for the regulation of the supply of labour, Christian sentiment

at home demanded a much more radical dealing with the problem. Though the action of the missionaries did not in the judgment of the missionary societies at home go far enough, it is significant that it was the missionary body that immediately intervened for the protection of native interests, and that it is due to their vigilance that the matter was brought to public attention.

A few months later as part of the new native policy there was passed in Kenya Colony a new 'Native Authority Amendment Ordinance' which gave the Government power to call up for a period not exceeding sixty days in any one year paid labour for work as porters for government servants on tour and on the construction or maintenance of railways or roads 'wherever situated in the Protectorate and for other work of a public nature whether of a like kind to the foregoing or not.' Persons who were fully employed in any other occupation, or had been so employed during the preceding twelve months for a period of three months, were exempted. While the labour circular was directed to securing labour for private employers, the ordinance dealt with compulsory labour for government purposes. This is a somewhat different issue, but the terms of the ordinance, especially when read in the light of actual conditions in the colony, increased the misgiving aroused by the labour circular.

Following on representations made to the Government by various bodies at home and a debate in the House of Lords, Lord Milner issued a dispatch dealing with the whole subject. In this he definitely repudiated compulsory labour for private employers, declaring such a policy to be 'absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government.' Attention was directed to a new labour circular issued in Kenya Colony in which administrative officers were urged to guard against abuses, and to various safeguards and to provisions for native welfare embodied in the Masters and Servants Ordinances. The requirement of labour for government purposes within the

limits of the new ordinance was held to be necessary and justifiable.

The missionary societies, after study of the dispatch, were not satisfied. Several conferences were held. Fortunately the Bishops of Mombasa, Uganda and Zanzibar were all at home for the purpose of attending the Lambeth Conference and could be consulted. Other missionaries from East Africa who were at home were able to give valuable counsel. Advice was also sought from experienced administrators and leading public men.

Out of these conferences a line of action finally emerged. It was recognized that merely to press for the withdrawal of the objectionable circular and modification of the new ordinance gave little prospect of success. These matters had already been dealt with in a dispatch, and it would not be easy to induce the Government to alter a policy which it had sanctioned until there had been time for it to be demonstrated that the safeguards were insufficient. But even if the Government were to withdraw the circular, this would leave the real difficulty untouched. The more the situation was considered, the more evident it became that the real causes of the trouble lay deep and that they could only be dealt with by a fresh consideration of the basic principles of administrative policy. A fundamental inquiry was seen to be necessary to determine what is involved in the practical application of the principle of trusteeship. It was decided, therefore, to appeal to the Government to undertake a thorough and impartial inquiry and to appoint a Royal Commission for this purpose.

An appeal to the Government was drawn up in which it was pointed out that in the Covenant of the League of Nations new public and international recognition has been given to the principle that the well-being and development of subject peoples is a sacred trust of civilization, and that an undertaking has been given by the signatory powers to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants in their territories. It is a point of honour that these declarations

should not be permitted to remain a form of words. It is further pointed out that, as a result of the war, British imperial responsibilities in Africa have been greatly enlarged and that it is of the first importance that British government in Africa should be established on righteous, sound and enduring foundations. The appeal is based, however, on a still more fundamental necessity. 'We are bound,' the signatories to the memorandum declare, 'as a Christian nation to bring all national policies to the test of conformity with Christian conceptions of life. Fundamental among these is the conception of the supreme value of human personality and the worth of each individual in the sight of God. We cannot without the surrender of our deepest convictions reconcile ourselves to any policy in regard to the native of Africa which contravenes this truth.'

The memorandum welcomes Lord Milner's declaration that any policy of compulsory labour for private employers would be absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, but points out that this assurance does not remove the difficulty that the existing policy of indirect pressure is, in the view of those who have an intimate knowledge of native life, open to greater objection and more serious abuse than a carefully regulated policy of legal compulsion.

Strong exception is taken, further, to the use of the machinery of Government for recruiting labour for private employers. This places government officials in a difficult and unfair position. It involves them in a conflict of duties—the duty of giving effect to the declared wish of the administration that labour should be forthcoming and the duty of guarding against abuses of that pressure by which alone the desired labour can be obtained. Through being placed in this position they are in danger of losing, in the eyes of the natives, their position as impartial referees. The relationship so vital to successful government in which the natives look up to the district commissioners

as their counsellors and friends must inevitably be compromised.

The question of compulsory labour for public purposes is on a somewhat different footing. The right of the state to claim from the individual certain services in return for the advantages which it confers upon him is not in question. We all pay our taxes, if not cheerfully at any rate with a fairly good grace, recognizing that we receive a return in public benefits. There does not appear to be any reason why the contribution to the state should not, in certain circumstances, be paid in the form of labour, providing the demand is not excessive and is fairly distributed. It is important to bear in mind, however, that while such labour, like taxes, may be rendered willingly where the social advantage is obvious, it is one thing to impose such conscription in a democracy where it represents the will, if not of all, at least of a majority, and quite another thing for it to be imposed by one race on another under conditions in which the members of the governing race are exempt.

The memorandum to the Secretary of State takes exception to the ordinance which has been passed in Kenya Colony on three grounds. The first is that its terms are far too wide. Secondly, the requirement that the labour must be given in any part of the Protectorate infringes the principle that compulsory labour can be justified only when those who are asked to perform it recognize its benefit to the community as a whole. 'African natives, whose sense of the community is limited to their tribe, cannot be expected to regard labour that has to be performed outside the tribal area as having social utility, or to understand how it contributes to the general good. The motive which makes forced labour tolerable is lacking, and compulsion for Government is apt to evoke the same feelings of resentment and bitterness as are created by compulsion for private purposes. Recourse to compulsion where the social benefit is not recognized or understood may thus, through the exasperation of native feeling, undermine the founda-

tions of government which are set in the welfare and contentment of the masses.' The third objection to the ordinance is that it removes natives to a distance from their homes and thus tends to break up village life. Where the recruitment of labour is voluntary, those labourers are attracted who can be spared from the villages, and no hardship is inflicted on men who desire to remain with their families and who have their own interests to look after.

It should be noted that the ordinance exempts from compulsion any one who is fully employed in any other occupation or has been so employed during the preceding twelve months. In answer to a question in the House of Commons it was stated that a native who had been fully employed in cultivation for himself for three months would be exempt. This is reassuring so far as it goes, since it was feared that the provision for exemption in the ordinance was intended to force natives on to European farms and plantations in order to escape compulsion for government work which, being at a greater distance, is apt to be more distasteful. If it is made universally known that any native who has done three months' work on his own land is exempt under the ordinance, some of the evil effects of the ordinance would be mitigated.

One of the arguments put forward for the new policy is that it is beneficial to the natives, inasmuch as its purpose is to prevent idleness and that it is good for the natives to learn to work. There is no doubt that there is a good deal of idleness among the natives of East Africa, though inquiry seems to show that many of the statements on this subject are exaggerated. There is no question that the encouragement of habits of industry is a legitimate aim of Government. But it by no means follows that the only method of doing this is to force the natives to seek work on European plantations. Habits of industry may equally be encouraged by a policy of education within the reserves, by the demonstration of improved methods of agriculture

and by the development of native industries. The objection to any system of compulsion is that it creates a distaste for labour and so defeats its own end.

The problems in East Africa, as contrasted with West Africa, arise from European settlement. In West Africa there is happily only one system. The natives are themselves the cultivators and producers. In East Africa there are two systems. There are the extensive European farms and plantations with their demand for labour and there are the native reserves. The interests and claims of the two systems may not be absolutely incompatible but it is obvious that they may and often do conflict. When they do it is almost inevitable under existing conditions that the interests of the natives should be sacrificed. The whole community has a powerful voice in the government of the country. They have every opportunity of asserting their point of view. The natives are largely voiceless. The assumption has been that Government will look after their interests, and Government has done so up to the present to the best of its ability and its officers have been the object of much criticism from the settlers for their pro-native tendencies. But with the growth of the white community in numbers, articulateness and influence it is increasingly difficult for Government to stand up against the pressure to which it is subject. The British public at home who are ultimately responsible for the administration of their colonies must make up their minds whether they mean to take seriously their professions in regard to the trusteeship of subject races. To allow the interests of the natives to be sacrificed to those of the white community would be a complete denial of the principle of trusteeship.

This is the fundamental issue to which attention is directed in the memorandum to the Secretary of State. If the principle of trusteeship means anything at all, it implies the duty of fostering in all possible ways the growth of a healthy and independent native life. 'This includes the assurance to the natives of adequate land with security

of tenure and of complete freedom in the disposal of their labour, the furtherance of their economic development, their education in agriculture and industry and a definite and progressive policy of training them in responsibility and self-government.' Compulsion to labour for government purposes at a distance from home and pressure to work on European estates are not easy to reconcile with such a policy. The demand for labour may easily become so insistent as to break up village life. This appears to be actually the case at present in Kenya Colony. No greater calamity could overtake the native population, and to permit it to take place would be the negation of everything that is implied in the conception of trusteeship.

The memorandum accordingly urges on His Majesty's Government the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the guiding principles of imperial policy in the British East Africa crown colonies and protectorates, and in particular into such matters as the tenure of land by the natives; the adequacy of native reserves; the extent to which land has been alienated to Europeans and the best means of meeting difficulties in regard to the supply of labour; the responsibility of officers of Government for the supply of labour for private employers; the effect of contact with western civilization upon the tribal system; the economic and moral advancement of the native population by wise methods of education; and the best means of obtaining expression of native opinion in matters affecting their interests.

The memorandum was signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Armagh, the Moderators of the Scottish Churches, the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the heads of the Free Churches, and received the official approval of thirty-one missionary societies associated in the British Conference. It also had the support of many distinguished leaders of British public life. The signatories included Lord Bryce, Lord Cave, Lord Haldane, Lord Meston, Lord Salisbury, influential

representatives of both the Coalition and the Labour Parties in the House of Commons, Sir Joseph Maclay, the shipping controller, distinguished representatives of the universities and a few outstanding names from the business world. It was presented to Lord Milner on December 14, 1920, by a small private deputation introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Milner received the representations most sympathetically and promised to give them his careful consideration.

At the time of writing the result of the appeal is not yet known. Whether it succeeds or fails the effort is worth recording. The issue raised is of the first importance. It is one thing to use high-sounding language, as statesmen of all countries have done during and since the war, with regard to the 'sacred trust of civilization'; it is another and much more difficult thing to translate these phrases into administrative practice. But if this is not done the world will be in a worse state than before. Nothing is more fatal than cant and insincerity. It is much better, if the peoples of Africa are to be exploited, that it should be done frankly and openly. If we choose the nobler policy of trusteeship it is essential that our choice should be one of deeds and not simply of words. If through the appointment of a commission with sufficiently wide terms of reference and the right personnel the British Government, with its large responsibilities in the African continent, is able to arrive at a clear and definite policy translating the conception of trusteeship into administrative practice, it will not only be of inestimable advantage to the large native populations under British rule but must react on the policy of other powers in the administration of their African territories.

From the missionary point of view the adoption by African governments of a policy consistent with the principle of trusteeship is of paramount importance. Any other policy must be prejudicial in the highest degree to missionary work. Attention was called in the last issue of

the Review to the fact that native unrest in South Africa was taking the form of opposition to Christianity on the ground that it was the white man's religion and must therefore be uprooted. 'We must fabricate a religion of our own,' the natives are saying, 'we must unite to encompass our freedom, opposing the white man tooth and nail.' A policy of exploitation by the European powers must inevitably create in the minds of the natives feelings of such resentment and bitterness that their hearts will be closed against a gospel that is brought to them by representatives of the white race.

It is also of the first importance to Christian missions that African governments should have a positive constructive policy of native education along sound lines. It is impossible for missions, with their limited resources, to give the African natives the education that they need. Their economic status must be raised, and educational plans are needed which go far beyond the possible scope of missionary effort. Without far-sighted efforts on the part of governments to raise the whole condition of native life, the education that is given in mission schools must find itself confronted with almost insurmountable handicaps in the general life of the people. It is becoming increasingly clear that if we are to accomplish our specific missionary task we must at the same time exert all our influence to secure that our national policies accord with Christian standards and are inspired by the Christian spirit.

J. H. Oldham

THE CONGO NATIVE AND BELGIAN ADMINISTRATION

By HENRI ANET

The Report of the Commission for the Protection of the Congo Natives (Rapport au Roi de la Commission instituée pour la Protection des Indigènes) published last year in Brussels is worth studying for its frank recognition of the critical situation of the Congo natives on many points, for its practical suggestions as to the removal of the evils and for the high spirit of humanitarianism by which it is permeated. Reports of official commissions may not be worth the paper on which they are printed if they aim only at covering up abuses with the cloak of pharisaism; their real value depends upon the willingness of the Government to act according to the suggestions of the commissioners. Governments can hardly act if they are not backed up by public opinion in the home-country.

There was a time when high-sounding phrases on humanitarian principles were never applied in reality in the Congo. Belgian public opinion, misled by a servile press, honestly believed that rumours of ill-administration in the Congo were forged by political enemies of Belgium and her king. The Congo Free State was an absolute monarchy of a pre-medieval type over which the Belgian parliament and the Belgian people had no control whatever. It is perfectly unwarrantable to make the Belgian nation responsible for ill-treatment of the Congo natives before the annexation in 1908. As soon, however, as the Congo Free State was changed into a Belgian colony, reforms were applied with a more and more sincere thoroughness under the high inspiration of King Albert. Now we know from

personal dealings with the King and his councillors that they mean to deal honestly and humanely with the native population of their immense colony.

Public opinion has awakened in Belgium to the moral aspects of colonization. No better commentary on the Report could be given than the first Congrès colonial national which met in Brussels in December 1920. We shall study the Report in the light of that representative assembly composed of leading men from government circles, parliament, universities, missions, industry and commerce.

King Albert declared at the opening of the Congress: 'The Belgian nation herself now is empowered with complete sovereignty on the Congo and assumes before the whole world the responsibility for the development of that colony. Colonization is one of the highest functions of societies arrived at an advanced stage of civilization. But there are no functions without duties, and the first of all is the mission of the motherland to emancipate the primitive races. One cannot deny that those races were often sacrificed at the beginning of modern colonization. Then those at the centre had exclusively in view their own selfish interest. For the honour of humanity, I am glad to state that the progress of moral and political ideas, a truer apprehension of the real interests of both parties concerned, have modified the theory and the practical methods of colonization.' The King then rendered a glowing homage to the 'striking effort' of the missionaries 'who with untiring self-sacrifice devote themselves to their religious and civilizing work.' After him the new colonial minister, M. Louis Franck, who has just come back from an extensive tour in Central Africa, said: 'Belgium has in Africa heavy responsibilities and she must accept them. In the Congo we want not so much laws and regulations as *men* of the highest type. Each man we send there is entrusted with a mission.'

The Commission for the Protection of the Congo Natives was established by the organic law of the new Belgian

Colony on October 18, 1908. Article 6 of that law reads as follow : 'A permanent commission of seven members is charged to watch in all the territory of the colony over the protection of the natives and the betterment of their moral and material conditions.' The chairman is the Procureur Général, highest magistrate of the colony. The members are designated by the King from among persons living in the colony who seem especially fitted to fulfil that protective mission. There is a session every year, and a collective report, *which is published*, is submitted to the King. The members of the commission are empowered even individually to denounce to the magistrates any abuse or illegality of which the natives may be the victims.

Seven years had elapsed since their last meeting, when the commission was convened at Léopoldville (Stanleypool) in December 1919. The chairman was one of the highest magistrates of the colony ; he was assisted by an official known for his interest in the natives, a doctor of wide tropical experience, two Roman Catholic bishops and two Protestant missionaries, namely the Rev. A. F. Hensey (Disciples of Christ Congo Mission) and the Rev. H. Ross Phillips (Baptist Missionary Society, London). There were thus four Belgians, one Frenchman (Mgr Gabriel Grison, of The Falls), one American and one Englishman.

The Report is divided into two parts : one dealing with the moral, the other with the material conditions of the existence of the natives. But both parts are dominated by moral conceptions. In all the discussions of the Colonial Congress (on railroad policy, finances, native administration, etc.) the same preoccupation was the general background. Summing up the debates, the Secretary of the Congress said : 'The deep unity of all our deliberations was our desire to develop the native races physically, intellectually and morally, without which there is no normal and permanent economical development. We cannot insist too much on the necessity of social and moral effort. We must trust the natives, we must love the

natives; we can have no success whatever without that faith and that love.'

The first part of the Report, on moral conditions, deals chiefly with the 'constitution and stability of the native family.' The need to fight polygamy is urged, especially in order to stop the traffic of young girls betrothed in childhood to men, often old men, and resold by them for a higher dowry. The relations that these very young girls have with their intended husband is believed to be one of the chief causes of the sterility of many Congo women. The commission recommends that to every minor girl a 'legal domicile,' namely the home of her parents, be assigned, and that the parents be punished for the sojourn of these girls outside the domicile without an administrative authorization by the confiscation of the dower paid for the girl. The confiscated dower is to benefit a fund which favours monogamic marriages by helping monogamic couples to get better lodgings, plots of ground, better education for their children, tools and machinery, etc.

It was also suggested that a maximum be fixed for dowers, the price of purchase of a wife becoming so high in certain districts that many young men cannot get married.

To protect monogamic marriages, the commission unanimously urged the promulgation of a law punishing adultery and a simplification of marriage formalities. The missionaries of both confessions wish the recognition of church marriage as on the same level as civil marriage; the Roman Catholics want this as a matter of principle; the Protestants accept it as only a temporary measure, while the small number of state officials renders civil formalities very difficult for a great many natives. The Roman Catholics seem to be willing to agree that Protestant marriages are as binding as Catholic ones, but they refuse to recognize the possibility of divorce.

Anxious about the demoralized state of natives in the big European centres, the commission recommends measures

against vagrancy. They urge the opening of special homes for vagrants, approved by a decree of 1896. This suggestion has already been partly acted upon by the Government. These homes must be educational establishments where the vagrant is fitted for a life of useful labour and can leave with some prospect of employment and a little stock of money earned by him. Thus work is made attractive. The promiscuous seclusion of vagrants in common prisons with criminals of every description contributes only to the spreading of criminality.

Among the other subjects studied in the first part of the Report we note :

Alcoholism. The Congo native benefited immensely by total prohibition, even under the Congo Free State and still more under Belgian regime. This is the best feature of colonization in the Belgian Congo. But the commission recommends better enforcement of the law : strong measures against native clandestine distilleries, and in certain districts against the excessive consumption of palm wine, causing not so much alcoholism proper as brawls, violences and crimes.

School attendance. 'Whereas school attendance is for the native children the best road to civilization, whereas the school will not only impart useful knowledge but help in the building up of their character, the commission ask the Government to consider means of enforcing a better school attendance, with some pressure on the parents, especially in the European centres, where idleness leads the young people to vagrancy.'

To aid in developing artisans, clerks, teachers and nurses among the natives, the commission suggests that 'young men regularly attending professional and secondary schools be exempt from capitation tax, provided they give at least 150 days of attendance per year for a period not to exceed four years.'

One of the members of the commission has introduced into his district, with the help of Protestant missionaries, a system of compulsory school attendance with the use of

a printed card. This scheme has only moral sanction and ought to be extended to other areas and made official.

The Roman Catholic bishops objected to the part of the resolution which reserves liberty of conscience: 'Whereas the adoption by the confessional schools of a programme of education which secures the freedom of conscience to the populations would enable the Government to impose compulsory school attendance . . .' The Protestant missionaries feel that they could accept in their schools any programme adopted by the state, and, if their religious teaching did not accord with such programme, they could have all the children they wished for a little time after the regular school for special religious teaching.

Fetichism. Noting with satisfaction that the Government is purposed to issue stronger decrees against the poison ordeal and practices of sorcery, the commission wishes that 'all recourse to the witch-doctor in order to discover a culprit be punishable by law, and also all those who take an active part in such an ordeal.'

The second great section of the Report deals chiefly with the grave question of depopulation, the problem of native labour and the organization of native administration.

The danger of depopulation overshadows the whole document and was the chief anxiety of the Colonial Congress. The Report is very pessimistic; some say much too pessimistic; at any rate it looks facts squarely in the face.

No accurate statistics are yet available for the whole Congo. The official census indicates a total population on the tax books of almost exactly six millions. On the other hand, the fantastic figures quoted by Stanley for the Congo Free State had no connexion with facts. Shall we believe that the population of the Congo amounted to 40 millions and ask severely: 'Who killed the other 34 millions?' The commission states that 'since the beginning of European occupation the population has decreased steadily, so that without exaggeration it may be

said that the Congo population has been reduced by half.' The causes indicated are the heavy death-rate due to diseases, but chiefly to sleeping-sickness; and the low birth-rate due to the same diseases and also to immorality, together with a very high percentage of child mortality due to lack of hygiene.

The first necessity is the fight against sleeping-sickness. Civilization is responsible for the spreading of that plague. This was frankly recognized by the commission as well as by the Colonial Congress. Accurate statistics available for different districts are absolutely appalling. 'Whether we are responsible consciously or unconsciously,' said the Congress secretary, 'at any rate we have the duty of making reparation.'

The guilt of the European powers in Africa in that respect is more unconscious than conscious. Better means of communication assured by railways, roads and steamers, and the possibility of intercourse between tribes granted by the *Pax Belgica*, have favoured the spreading of diseases which existed before the occupation sporadically in restricted areas. The war and the unavoidable circulation of soldiers and carriers has helped in the diffusion of new diseases brought from outside. For example, influenza in some regions killed fifteen per cent of the population.

Having ascertained the danger of the complete annihilation of the native population, the commission 'adjures the Government to take without delay measures to stop the progress of diseases and to apply methods of social hygiene.' The Colonial Minister announced that the budget of public health was to be trebled. He is calling for new state doctors who will enter their task 'not as a profession, but as an honour and a mission.' He is organizing in the important centres schools to train native medical assistants, giving them a fair knowledge of diagnosis and treatment of the principal native diseases; they will be sent into the villages with simple medicament and atoxyl to combat sleeping-sickness.

The commission urges the Government to 'continue to help and favour the work of the missionaries who are valuable auxiliaries of the medical service, and to grant them large material succour with the full support of the local administration.'

Both in the Report and in the Congress the question of native labour was intimately linked with the problem of depopulation, and for two reasons : bad conditions of employment and of transportation of workers are an important factor in the heavy death-rate ; and as was stated by many speakers (among others by Dr Broden, Director of the Brussels Tropical School of Medicine) : 'Native labour is a real wealth ; the colony cannot dispense with it. But it is an error to believe that it is inexhaustible. That delicate human material must be handled with the utmost care ; everything must be done to better and increase that human stock.'

The heaviest toll on native activity is the one of porterage. It was made heavier by the necessities of the campaign in East Africa ; we heard one of the leading generals of that expedition speak with deep human emotion of the need to lighten that heavy burden of the Congo natives. The commission and the Congress advised better lodgings for carriers and for workers transported by road, rail or steamer ; more adequate food provisions ; the strict observance of the maximum weight of twenty-five kilos per load, which several speakers declared excessive. Others (among them Roman Catholic missionaries) stated that natives bear porterage easily when they are well treated and well fed.

From the humanitarian as well as from the economic point of view, porterage must be done away with as soon as possible. The chief impression left by the King's speech as well as by the discussions of the Congress was the urgency of a strong policy for railways and roads. But here comes in a grave difficulty. Railways can only be laid, roads for automobiles can only be built, navigation on the rivers

can only be improved, by the help of immense quantities of native labour, and this must be taken away from the mines which are being opened everywhere, from the necessary and striking development of agriculture—rice, maize, cotton, palm oil, cocoa, etc. Engineers proposed the reintroduction of forced labour under certain conditions and for a limited time; they stated that free labour would never build rapidly the railways and the roads that would free the natives from the plague of porterage and paddling, and ensure their own economical prosperity as well as that of the white men. The argument was insidious. It reminded me of the confession of a converted burglar who before leaving his life of rapine desired to commit a last theft in order to get capital to go abroad to a new country and spend there an honest existence. Vehement protest met that proposal in the Colonial Congress. In his summing up, the secretary of the Congress said: 'We have been unanimous against the reintroduction of forced labour with all its abuses.' Amid general applause, the Colonial Minister declared: 'Forced labour is contrary to justice; it is condemned by our moral conscience. We will remain faithful to the system of free labour. Free labour only can give satisfactory and permanent results. It obliges the employer to better the living conditions of his workers and to develop them.' Several speakers in the Congress were in accord with the commission when they declared: 'Forced labour is not necessary. You will get plenty of labour and good labour if employers treat their workers well, provide for them sufficient food and good housing. Well treated, the workers will go back to their villages happy and satisfied, and they will become the best recruiting agents.'

The commission suggests the obligatory use of an 'engagement book' for each native worker with a note of the labour contract, and controlled regularly and free of charge by the state officials.

A number of other suggestions are merely noted in the

Report and will probably be further studied by the commission, such as a request for the lowering of the capitation tax in certain regions, because of the higher cost of living; the organization of old-age pensions for native workers, at any rate for those in government employment; encouragement by the state of the organization of saving banks for the natives; better regulation of the native chieftaincies (chefferies). The commission protests against the arbitrary displacing of native villages: 'Imperative hygienic reasons only can justify the displacing of villages.'

A strong protest was lodged against the 'corvée,' that is, the obligation to work for public service in road building, etc. At present the native can be forced to work sixty days per year in the chieftaincy. The commission proposes a reduction of the time of public service to thirty days, and the power of redemption from the 'corvée' by a payment in money at the local rate of salaries.

Finally, the commission has wisely drawn the attention of the Government to the danger of too large concessions to trading companies. The Government has allotted vast tracts of land without providing space for the establishment of missions. 'The missionaries,' they say, 'must be able to settle down permanently in the close neighbourhood of the native populations of these concessions and without depending on the good or ill will of the grantees.' Unanimously they voted: 'That the Government ought to reserve in the land concessions ground for philanthropical and religious enterprises and that the Government seek the means to repair the evil already done by taking back from the grantees the land necessary for such institutions.'

The general good-will of the Belgian public is shown clearly by some figures quoted without any opposition by a financial expert before the Colonial Congress. He advised a first loan for the Colony of 300 million francs; of that sum, 180 million should be used for building roads and railways and 120 million for the physical, professional and moral development of the native population. Is it not a

very significant proportion? Belgium is facing her world responsibility with boldness but without presumption. The sufferings and heroism of the war have developed a new sense of patriotism.

The great question now is to know if Belgium is willing to look upon her world mission from a standpoint of moral idealism and not only in the light of commercialism and political interest. In the outburst of practical materialism produced by a natural reaction after the awful privations of the period of German occupation, there is a great deal of unrestrained rush for money and pleasure with an unprecedented outburst of self-seeking. But great and glorious gleams of idealism are piercing these heavy clouds and foreshadowing in many ways the dawn of a purified national life. Among these we are glad to point out the hopeful new departure in Belgian colonial spirit as emphasized by the Report of the Commission for the Protection of the Natives and by the first and recent National Colonial Congress.

HENRI ANET

THE CHRISTIAN EXPLAINS HIMSELF

I. WAY, TRUTH, LIFE

By EDWYN BEVAN

The paper here presented might seem too ambitious, as an attempt to set forth the fundamental reason for holding that the Christian belief is valid for all men. I should hardly have undertaken it of my own motion. I am conscious that much deeper knowledge and experience than mine is needed in order to treat such a subject. Yet being asked by a Group, which in connexion with this Review is preparing a series of studies under the general title of 'The Christian Explains Himself,' to put down in black and white what I personally should reply, if challenged by a non-Christian to say why he should join the Christian community, I felt it would be weak evasion, if I did not try at least to justify my belief. Of course, the basis of our beliefs is often deeper than consciousness, and the arguments by which we attempt to justify them often do not get down to their real ground, but to make no effort at all to bring them up into the light of reason, to leave them in the obscurity of the unexamined subconscious is vicious mental indolence. Even if the effort to set them forth logically is not altogether successful, it is a good one to make and may help to clear the understanding.

And first, is all religion a delusion? Is it unwarranted to adopt any hypothesis as to a supposed Reality beyond or beneath or behind phenomena? All we men on this planet are journeying from the Unseen to the Unseen, and are surrounded by a universe no one can claim to have explored more than in small part; from the dawn of

human history men have believed that behind phenomena are Beings or a Being towards which, or towards whom, a certain attitude on their part is required, if their way through life is to be guided right. Religion has existed as a fact. Has it been an apprehension of Reality, at any rate a feeling after Reality, or a mere pursuit of phantoms? Of course, it is perfectly true that one can trace a continuity between the most primitive forms of religion and the religion of the most modern Christian. But of such a continuity two explanations are possible. There are cases in which sheer illusions have survived in certain parts of society, even when society as a whole has advanced far beyond them; but there are also cases in which the primitive notion was the first crude apprehension of a truth which society in its advance has not discarded but apprehended more and more fully. Such a continuity, for instance, exists between the ideas of number entertained by a savage who cannot count beyond ten and the most elaborate scientific mathematics. We do not discard scientific mathematics as the survival of primitive fancy. And, in the case of religion, to prove the continuity does not, by itself, prove that religion is an illusion. It may be a case of the progressive apprehension of reality. You see what you take to be a Face in the mist. As time goes on, your vision of the Face changes. This does not prove that the whole thing is a mere play of fancy upon the shifting forms of the mist. It may be that you are seeing a real Face, more and more truly, as the mists clear. Your first ideas of the Face may have been absurd; this does not invalidate your later perceptions.

But even if we are satisfied that there is a Reality behind phenomena which religion in all its forms is trying to grasp, the multiplicity of religious beliefs and practices offers a problem. One apparently simple way of getting rid of the problem is to say that since, after all, there is only one Reality which they all strive to apprehend, they

are all equally valid. One man, one race, apprehends God in one way, another man or another race in another way, and, Truth being manifold, each way is good. There are people who, on such a ground as this, regard any attempt by the adherents of one religion to bring over to it the adherents of another religion as mistaken. And it must be mistaken if all ways of approach to God are equally good. But this apparently easy way of getting rid of the problem involves great difficulties the moment you try honestly to think out its consequences. Granting that the Reality is one, and granting that It is manifold, so that different apprehensions of It may be equally true, it is very hard to suppose that all the different apprehensions of it are in fact *equally* full and *equally* true. In every other object of human endeavour there are great differences between the measures of success attained by different men; are we to suppose that in religion, the attempt to apprehend the Reality behind phenomena, all men everywhere attain immediately and inevitably the full measure of success which it is possible for any men anywhere to attain? If not, there must be differences of worth between the various apprehensions, and, if there are differences of worth, there is a ground for attempting to make the most worthy more general among men, i.e., a ground for propaganda.

Again: it is true that different apprehensions of truth are in some cases equally valid. But the differences which exist in other departments between human beliefs are not due only to different parts of truth being apprehended—to some extent they are this—but also to an admixture of definite error and mistake coming in to a greater or less degree. In the case of religious varieties, it is reasonable to suppose that we have not only the apprehension of different parts or aspects of the Reality—which apprehensions, if different, must at any rate be harmonious—but actual incompatibilities arising from the various admixture of error and mistake.

The difficulty of choice between different religions is sometimes said to be overwhelming, because the number of religions to choose from is so large. But, as a matter of fact, the choice to-day is not between a large number of wholly separate religions. Living religions fall into quite a small number of groups, and even if a man cannot make up his mind in which member of the group there is the fullest and purest apprehension of Reality, he may often be convinced that it is in this group rather than in another. Looking back over the religious history of mankind, one sees a progress in which different sets of people have started experimentally on new tracks, each track again branching out farther on in new divisions. Humanity is marching, not all in one body along a single road, but fan-wise along these divergent tracks of discovery, the true track to be ultimately found as the other tracks prove unsatisfactory.[1] A large number of tracks have already proved unsatisfactory and have been abandoned—all the extinct religions of the past—Amen-Ra, Marduk, Pallas Athene, Jupiter, Odin were once worshipped by generation after generation. They, and all the host of gods attached to each one of them, have long ceased to have any worshippers in the world; they are figures marking abandoned tracks. The living religions of the civilized world to-day (excluding China and Japan, whose national religions, Confucianism and Shintoism, hardly come into consideration for any one not Chinese or Japanese, and excluding Zoroastrianism, which has long ceased any attempt to expand beyond a very small community) belong to one or other of two great divisions—the Hebraic division and the Greco-Indian division. Israel long ago set out along a particular track, which later on branched out into

[1] Of course when one describes religious advance as *discovery*, that does not rule out the idea of *revelation*. The same process which from the human side is man's progressive finding of God, from the divine side is God's progressive revelation of Himself to man. Man's movement godwards is the operation within man of the Divine Spirit. God is not a passive truth found by man, but Himself active in the finding.

Christianity, into Judaism and into Islam, and these branches again separated into the various Christian, Jewish and Mohammedan churches and sects. The Greco-Indian division has also branched out into philosophic Pantheism, the Hindu sects and the varieties of Buddhism. The option for a modern man, whose religion is to be continuous in any way with the religious life of the past, is practically reduced to a choice between some track in the Hebraic division and some track in the Greco-Indian division. A wholly new religion which has no continuity with any religious track in the past could hardly claim credence; for religion, as we have seen, purports to apprehend the great Reality, and a wholly new religion would imply that, though the Reality had been there all the time, there had hitherto been no perception or sense of it in the life of mankind.

A Christian believes that the fullest and purest apprehension of God is to be found in the Hebraic division. In this the Jew and the Mohammedan agree with him. But the Christian believes further that the true line of advance in the road upon which Israel set out is in Christianity. It seems to him that Judaism and Islam at a certain parting of the ways took a wrong track.

What is the essential characteristic of the Hebraic religion? To answer this question, we must, I think, note that there are two things for which God stands to men. He stands sometimes for the supreme reality of the *values* recognized by the human spirit, the satisfaction of the strivings after the good and the beautiful, the ideal for the *will*. Man and the world in their present state do not accord with God; His kingdom has not come; His will is not yet done on earth as it is in heaven. He stands sometimes for the supreme *explanation* of the world, as it is, the ideal for the *intellect*, which seeks to find the One behind the Many. We might even say that mankind is seeking two Gods—the final answer to the question, What *ought to be*? and the final answer to the question, What

is? Now we must believe that ultimately these two Gods are one, that there is no final disagreement in the universe between Value and Existence. But there may be a disagreement between the imperfect conception of God which has been so far reached by those who seek Him as the supreme Ideal and the imperfect conception reached so far by those who seek Him as the Supreme Explanation.

In the religion of primitive man, the various personal or quasi-personal powers, the many gods, divined behind the common phenomena of the world—vegetation and water-springs, the sun and the moon, the winds and thunder—are the first crude attempts to get at the supreme Explanation. As thought advances, gradually the many divine beings give place to the idea of one divine Being, the ground of the world. We get, both in Indian and Greek thought, this process by which the primitive polytheistic explanation of the world is found intellectually unsatisfactory and discarded for the idea of the one universal Being. This is called an advance from lower to higher conceptions. But we ought to note that there is not necessarily in it any advance at all towards God as the moral Ideal. The immoralities of the primitive gods are indeed rejected, but what takes their place is a Being without any distinct moral character at all. To those who seek God as the satisfaction of the intellect, thought seems something higher than volition. The divine Being is something beyond the distinctions of moral good and evil; according to Aristotle, His activity is pure contemplation; it is absurd to think that the distinction between righteousness and unrighteousness has any meaning for Him. Similarly Indian thought has always tended towards an Absolute which was felt to be unduly limited if any distinct moral character were ascribed to it. For those who attain salvation right volition is merely a temporary phase, left behind when salvation is found in the pure contemplation of that which Is.

Whilst primitive man in his many gods or demons or

vague *mana* seeks the supreme Explanation, in the obligations of tribal custom and social rules of life he has the beginning of an apprehension of the supreme Ideal. Some of the gods are thought of as the upholders and vindicators of these customs and rules. Zeus punishes the oath-breaker and the man who is harsh to the suppliant. Varuna watches the behaviour of men to each other, and so on. It seems really rather curious, when you come to think of it, that primitive man should have made this connexion between nature-gods and morality. If Zeus was originally the explanation of the sunlit sky and Varuna the explanation of the rain, why on earth should they have had anything to do with the standards of human conduct ? We can only say that some instinct led primitive man, some dim foreshadowing of the ultimate harmony of Existence and Value, a glimmer of the light that lightens man all over the world.

Primitive deities are tribal and local. Even when the deity is conceived to stand behind some natural object common to all mankind, such as the sun or the moon, a particular people often claims to have established peculiar relations with the deity. The Babylonian Moon-god, for instance, was in an especial way the god of the city Ur. The gods worshipped by the Aryan invaders of India, whose hymns are preserved in the Rig-veda, are especially the gods of the Aryans, unfriendly to the dark aborigines. Even in advanced Hinduism, a particular caste, constituted by physical descent, is thought to have a prerogative in dealings with the Divine. Of course, so far as Indian thought approaches to the idea of an Absolute, these distinctions between man and man, like all other distinctions, tend to fall away. A man who attains salvation by apprehension of the One is outside and above all caste ; on that level the original Brahman and the original outcaste are equal. But even to-day, alone of the great religions of the world, Hinduism (as distinguished from its offspring, Buddhism) is ethnic. Its gods are dis-

tinctively Indian, not universal. Men of other nations have been gathered into the community which is called by the name of the Buddha; but the idea that men of other nations should worship Vishnu or Shiva has never been entertained.

If therefore the God of ancient Israel was a national God, there was nothing in this fact which distinguished Israel from any other people on the earth at the time. What distinguished Israel was the character of its national God. We have seen that primitive deities tended to have a double character, as explanations of natural phenomena and as the protectors of tribal morality. Along the Indian track, the former of these two germs in primitive religion was developed by thought into the Vedantic pantheism, the other suffered a kind of atrophy. Along the Hebraic track, on the other hand, it was the second germ which was developed and the former which remained in a child-like condition.

The connexion between the deity and morality, made imperfectly and sporadically by other peoples, Israel was taught by its prophets to make the very essence of religion. Amongst other people the idea of the gods as the guardians of righteousness was clouded and confined by all the mythological immoralities attributed to the same gods as explanations of natural phenomena. In Israel the idea of Jehovah was freed from all this sensual mythology. It was not in order to satisfy an intellectual craving, to understand the nature of Reality, that the pious Israelite turned to his God; he turned to Jehovah as righteous Will, as Someone who *did* things in the world, as Someone with whom he might have dealings as living person with living person. Just as in the Greek or Indian advance towards an Absolute there is very little advance towards a God of righteousness and love, so in the Hebrew advance towards a God of righteousness and love there is very little advance towards a philosophical conception of the Divine Being. If one compares the Old Testament with the Upanishads, the

Hebrew writers strike one as showing singularly little interest in the metaphysical character of the Reality behind phenomena; their language about God does not in this respect go beyond that of a child. But what the Hebrew sages are intensely exercised with is the moral problem, how the evil in the world is to be reconciled with God's righteous will. The Hebrew's attention is fixed upon what God does; intellectual trouble is given him only by God's not doing what he expects. God's 'mighty acts,' 'wondrous acts'—these are the key-words of the Old Testament (*τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ, magnalia Dei*).

Further, because the God of Israel is of this character, His relation to the Israelite community is peculiar. Israel is His people, not by any physical or natural necessity, but because by an act of will He chose this one people to enter into a relation of peculiar intimacy with Him. His relation to Israel is based, as the Old Testament constantly insists, upon a 'covenant.' His own righteous will, not the will of Israel, determines His actions; if the will of Israel sets itself against His, by turning to iniquity, His does not deflect; Israel experiences it in the form of judgment and punishment. Standing thus above His people, independent of it, He can also be recognized as the God of the whole earth, observing and chastising the sins of other nations too, whilst Israel still remains His peculiar people, as chosen by Him for a special work, whose ultimate purpose is to be a blessing for all the families of mankind.

The time-process for the developed Indian view was a vanity which ceased to exist for one who attained knowledge of the Absolute. On the other hand, for the Hebraic view, which laid stress on will and action, not on speculative contemplation, the time-process had an essential meaning and purpose. It was in the time-process that God by a succession of mighty acts carried His purpose to completion. It was not a meaningless circle, but a continuous creation of new reality, leading to some supreme divine event in the future. The plurality of souls for the Vedantic view was

an unreal appearance; how this troublesome appearance ever came about was always a problem hard to explain; anyway, now it was there, the best thing to do was to get rid of it as quickly as possible, to throw it behind one, to get back to the comfortable unity of the Absolute. For the Hebraic view the plurality of souls was the marvellous creation of God for the purpose of love and communion (*chesed*) between each other, between them and Him. Love implies more than one; love is a duality or plurality transcended. The wonder and beauty of the state of perfect lovers is that the two are always there and yet pouring themselves out for each other, pouring themselves into each other, always one. 'Mysterium magnum,' as some one has said of this goal which for Hebraic religion was ultimately to come into view.[1]

Hence, while in the Indian view it is the individual by himself who attains salvation, *solus cum solo*, in the Hebraic view the Divine Community stands in the forefront. The prophetic teaching that Jehovah loved Israel was older than the teaching that Jehovah loved the individual Israelite. And always the ultimate salvation to which the Jew looked forward was the perfected state of the community—conceived at first apparently as a literal Davidic kingdom in the Holy Land, and later on as a society of the redeemed in heaven. It was as a member of the divine and glorified community that the individual would attain bliss. He was carried along in the sweep of a corporate history, moving through time, towards a consummation, willed by God, at the end of the ages.

In describing this difference between the Hebraic and the Indian view one must beware, of course, of making the difference absolute. Both Hebrews and Indians were, after all, sharers in one human nature, and all the essential exigencies of that nature were felt in some degree by both. It would be a mistake to suppose that the desire to understand the nature of Reality was altogether absent amongst

[1] 'This is a great mystery—I speak of Christ and the Church.'—St Paul.

the old Israelites (we may remember that later on there was a great deal of mystical speculation amongst the Jews, and that one of the most prominent exponents in the West of a philosophy resembling the Vedantic is the Jew Spinoza) or that the sense of a connexion between the divinity and moral goodness was lost in India. It was only that on the one side the desire to understand reality remained relatively weak beside the intense apprehension of God's righteousness, and that on the other side the apprehension of God's righteousness remained relatively weak beside the intense cultivation of the craving to understand. And even in India we must remember that the philosophers were not all the people. Vedantism represents this one-sided cultivation in its most exaggerated form, and the utterances of the popular heart in India are often much nearer the unsophisticated primitive mind from which both Israel and India started. In India too there have been protests against the pantheism which would abolish all distinction between the individual soul and God, movements which laid stress on love, and affirmed that in the ultimate state of bliss the souls plunged in the ocean of God would still retain their characteristic individualities. Such I understand to have been the teaching of Ramanuja, whose followers in the south of India are numbered by millions. There is agreement in some fundamental matters between such a view and the Christian.

'But if both the quest for God as Ideal Goodness and the quest for God as the Explanation of the world correspond with the exigencies of the heart of man, and if the two quests ultimately terminate in the same One God, why,' it may be asked, 'do you claim any prerogative for the Hebraic track? The roads differ but they lead to the same destination in the end. Why should the Hebraic apprehension of God be more real than the Indian (or, if one likes, the Greco-Indian intellectual apprehension)?' I conceive that it is upon the answer to this question that everything turns. I can only put my answer to it like

this. Every explanation of the universe given at any stage along the intellectual way can be only provisional—the best synthesis of the data present to the mind at that state. Personality in God and in man is much richer than any apprehension we can get of it till we 'know even as we are known.' The movement, for instance, made by the Upanishads, when they affirmed the identity of the human self and the One behind phenomena, was the remarkable seizure of something to which the human consciousness bore witness, a new perception of Reality, but this something was emphasized at that stage to the exclusion of other elements in the problem which were equally true, and it cannot therefore stand as the final and satisfactory explanation of the universe. Each imperfect apprehension along this road loses its worth as soon as you have passed to a truer and a more embracing one. When I became a man I put away childish things. Permanent value belongs only to the perfect vision, when we see, no longer through a glass darkly, but face to face.

On the other hand in the living intercourse of personalities in love we apprehend the ultimate reality straightaway—not indeed the whole of it, but a real bit of it. A child knows its mother and knows that its mother loves it long before it has any notion of what mother-love means. The love it apprehends at the very outset has permanent worth; that is not among the childish things it puts away. It was as if, while the Indian sage was a child speculating what motherhood means and discarding one theory of it for another, or trying to realize his mother as a static entity, Israel was learning to know the mother herself by the things she did to him, feeding and washing and slapping and putting to sleep. That was the kind of revelation of Himself which God chose Israel to receive, living knowledge of His will shown in action, not metaphysical knowledge of His being.

It is the Hebraic track which is the pre-supposition of Christianity; it was not an accident that Jesus was a Jew,

not an Indian or a Greek. He came to reveal God; yes, but not to reveal Him as a mirror reflects an object not itself; He came to reveal God as a man is revealed by a supreme action into which he puts his whole personality. He came to teach; yes, but not primarily to teach—to do. His coming, His dying, His rising again were fresh, mighty acts of God—acts more wonderful than any since the initial act of creation. He came not so much to tell men about realities that were there already as to create new reality. His great creation was a Community.

An actual society was brought into being in the world, wonderfully joined together and animated by the life of Him who had offered Himself in sacrifice to the Father. It was still a divine community which stood in the forefront of religion for the Christian, but it was a community open to all mankind, within which all distinction between Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, was done away. Man had always been a social being; in many ways, at all times and in all places, the individuals composing humanity found their good in association with other individuals, in the union of man and woman, in the family, in the tribe, in the nation, in friendship and comradeship; all these were forms of association which brought individuals together, frameworks within which the craving of the human units to merge their separate lives in one common life could find partial satisfaction. The satisfaction could never be more than partial; it was limited by the laws of space and time; the frameworks were destined themselves to be broken up sooner or later; there is an end to families and tribes and nations. Satisfaction could be found only in the completion of the Divine Community, in such a mode of being that there was no more separation between the members, that each could know all the others and love them, could penetrate the whole community from his individual standpoint and embrace it all in his own life. All that, according to the Christian faith, will be true of the Divine Community in its perfected glory, and it will be

true because all the members will be united to one Divine Person in whom God has done His supreme act of self-sacrificing love, because one life, going out from that Divine Person, will run through the whole Body. In that final harmony of the Many will be seen the reason why God willed a creation of innumerable distinct individual souls.

The Church created by Christ was the Divine Community already begun. All other societies perish ; this society is eternal ; it is not only the individual soul which is immortal, the Church is immortal. Already those who in the first days were gathered out from the nations and joined to the Lord were united by a bond which would outlast death. That is the new thing about Christianity. Not a teaching or an idea about pre-existing reality, which can be compared with other teachings or ideas, Indian or Greek or whatever it may be, and can be pronounced superior, as an idea, but a fresh reality which did not exist before—the Church. There it is, a nucleus for the union of all mankind. In it the God of Israel is still revealed by mighty acts, the acts which show the crude stuff of human nature transformed and transfigured by heroic love.

The Church is the Body made of all those spiritually joined to the Divine Man in heaven. It is a visible body in so far as the members of it are visible men and women and their acts visible acts. But it is not a visible body in the sense that you can see the outlines and the contours of the community, as you can see those of an earthly nation. The organic filaments which join each several member to the Head and to other members are spiritual and invisible ; you cannot say precisely who belongs to the Community and who does not ; 'the Lord knoweth them that are His.' The various institutional formal churches are only frameworks, necessary as helps and instruments for the life of the invisible Church, but they are not themselves the Church ; their members are not necessarily joined to Christ in their inner life, and many who are joined to Christ have not (probably to their own loss)

joined any formal Christian communion. Very often the machinery of the formal churches, instead of being a help to the life of the real Church, becomes a hindrance to it and serves to make it seem unlovely and dull and conventional to those outside. Yet in spite of all hindrances and all aberrations, in spite of shameful infidelities to its principle and fluctuations of faith, there among men the Divine Community is being gradually formed, age after age, gathering into itself from every kindred and tongue and people and nation. Sometimes, life has seemed to fall so low in the communities which claimed to be Christian that men have pronounced Christianity to be on the point of extinction. And over and over again from the unseen source new tides of power and purging and revival have swept through the Body. There have never ceased to be some manifestations in the Body, even at the worst times, of the divine life in its beauty and strength. The Church is still there to-day.

If the divine life in the Christian community is the really distinctive thing about Christianity, the only effectual form of propaganda must be to show that life at its fullest and clearest. In the case of all religions embodied in societies, the attraction to them is largely social. So, we must believe, in the first days of Christianity, men joined the community because in this or that town of the Mediterranean coastlands—Alexandria or Antioch or Ephesus or Rome—they came across a new set of people and felt something in their atmosphere unlike anything they knew elsewhere, a ' spirit ' which laid hold of them and would not let them go. Each little local ' church ' was a centre of attraction. And to-day there could be no argument so powerful for our faith as would be offered if the Christian communities all over the world became, before the eyes of men, what they would be if the divine life they embody were allowed full expression. The great difficulty before reformers who desire to make human life better is to find a way of making men seek the common good rather than

their own ease or pleasure; but here would be a set of people possessed with a passion for service. Antagonisms between men of different nations and races and colours now make unhappiness all over the globe; but here would be a set of people whose love went out to all men irrespective of nationality and complexion. The non-Christian world might treat these people as it would; nothing could prevent them meeting hostility and contempt with new eagerness to make themselves the servants of all, with unconquerable friendliness and love. That hardly seems a description of most of the Christians whom the non-Christian world sees to-day. And yet one would think it to be the only mode of behaviour proper to those who believe that self-sacrificing love, more than anything else, reveals the character of the Reality behind phenomena, those whose animating spirit is that of Him who, out of love, took the form of a servant and did not stop short, Divine as He was, of the supreme sacrifice of Himself.

EDWYN BEVAN

THE MUSICAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

By H. A. POPLEY

PART II

The Musical Heritage in Evangelism

Eighteen years ago the writer stood by the side of an Indian evangelist in a South Indian village and saw him capture the hearts of the people by his sweet Indian melodies sung to a violin accompaniment. After the crowd had gathered and all had come to attention, the evangelist said to them, 'By the spell of my music we have brought you all here. The music has done its work and now we are going to speak to you of divine things.' Immediately the thought came to me, 'If music is so powerful, can it not do much more? Has it not a place in the message itself?' It was many months before the answer came, but at last we saw and heard some of the great singer-preachers and realized that the method of lyrical evangelism was the answer to that early question.

'Music brings men into contact at a deeper level than the spoken word,' and it does so immediately. The song and melody link heart to heart at once. 'When you were singing I felt you were an Indian, but when you spoke I was not sure,' said an Indian to the writer one day. If, as Mr Kidd says, the emotion of the ideal is the soul-force of the future, what better vehicle for it can we find than music?

The sacred books of the Indian peoples are all books of song. The great evangelists of the *Bhakti* revival throughout India in medieval days were all lyrical evangelists, who taught the new ideals through the medium

of songs and so brought the highest truths of religion to the understanding of the common people. There is an interesting story told of one of the most famous of these Saivite singer-preachers of South India who lived and worked in the seventh or eighth century of our era. He came to a temple called the temple of Vedāraṇyam (the grove of the Vedas), the doors of which had been closed to both priests and people for centuries. The leaders came and asked the saint to open these doors by means of his wonderful songs. He sang and the doors flew open, and the people could pass in and out once more. It is probably a legend picturing for later days the fact that the songs of these Saivite saints brought the truths of the Vedas to the understanding of the common people.

If music is to take its rightful place in our evangelistic work it is of course essential that it should be Indian music. Western music cannot open the doors of the Indian heart. On the west coast of South India there is a fine Christian community which has learnt to sing German music in four parts very well, but the only effect of this German music upon non-Christians is to produce ridicule. At present, at any rate, European music has no part to play in the evangelization of India. Neither can we unlock the doors of the Indian heart with so-called Indian music which transgresses nearly every law of that music. There is a kind of Christian Indian music, fostered under the influence of foreigners who have never understood the inner meaning of that music or mastered its technique, and the only result of its performance is to give rise to ridicule or contempt in the cultured Indian. The rough method of harmonizing Indian lyrics which one sometimes comes across in Christian churches is not only of no use but does positive harm to the musical sense of both European and Indian. We have no right to try to do anything with Indian music until we have studied it and really understood it. It is possible that in the future harmony may find a place in Indian music, but it will not be this hap-

hazard kind of thing worked out on the western model on the spur of the moment.

There are many different directions in which we can utilize India's musical heritage in our evangelistic work, but I shall describe one only, the method of lyrical evangelism, called in India the *Kālakshepam* or *Harikathā* or *Kīrtan*. This is a thoroughly indigenous method of religious exposition. Every week-end in Madras city nearly a hundred such gatherings will take place, in many of which the preacher will be paid a high fee for his services. These preacher-singers are called *Bāgavatars* and they go from place to place. Their visit to any centre is regarded in the same way that the visit of a famous preacher used to be regarded in western cities.

The basis of the exposition will be a story from one of the religious epics or *purānas* or perhaps some other religious work. The story may be worked out in various songs or in the ordinary poetical metres, and forms the thread on which the religious exposition is strung. Each incident in the story is used to illustrate some truth which is enlarged upon and further illustrated by other songs and stories. Even the prose exposition between the songs is chanted to suitable *rāgas*. Poetical quotations are of course always chanted.

The *Bāgavatar* usually has the help of a small orchestra and sometimes of a choir as well. The orchestra consists of one or more stringed instruments like the violin or the *Sārangi* (the eastern prototype of the violin), a drone instrument such as the *tambūr*, a *mridanga* or *tablā* (chamber drum) and a pair of hand cymbals. The drone is kept sounding all the time as a perpetual background to song and chant, but the other instruments are played as a rule only when songs are sung. The choir will repeat each line of the song after the *Bāgavatar* and at the end of verses will add various ornaments and elaborations.

The method of exposition is discursive rather than concentrative upon a particular aspect of truth, and

illustrative rather than argumentative. The whole performance lasts from two to four hours, and people are free to move in and out as they wish, without giving rise to the impression that they are bored. This lack of what the West would call order is part of the Indian attitude.

The *Bāgavatar* sometimes plays an instrument himself, often the violin, but more usually he simply has a pair of wooden castanets with which he keeps the songs in time and helps the orchestra. As a rule he never uses any manuscript, and the whole exposition with its many quotations is a marvellous exhibition of memory power, which we can never hope to equal.

The Christian evangelist can take over this whole method, giving it a new content. In this Christian setting it has been more highly developed in the Tamil country than in any other part of India. Vedanāyagam Sāstriār, a convert from a high caste family in Tanjore—the musical centre of the south—was one of the first to adopt it. His sons and grandsons have continued to carry it on afterwards, freely drawing from the voluminous material which he left. Most of this material consists of imaginative and lyrical versions of Bible stories.

The method adopted by the Christian *Bāgavatar* follows the Hindu model very closely. The groundwork of the exposition is a lyrical version of some Bible story, usually the singer's own, though occasionally he gets it from another composer. Often the poetical and versical merits of these compositions are very high indeed. The story passes on from stage to stage by means of songs which gradually unfold the different incidents. Many of these songs will be in the first and second persons. Interwoven with the songs come expositions of divine truth, illustrations, quotations from Indian devotional poetry, exhortation—all sung or chanted in the approved fashion. The Gospel is presented in incident, song and illustration rather than in argument or doctrine. The persuasive element, what Dr Jowett has called 'the wooing note,' is the dominant

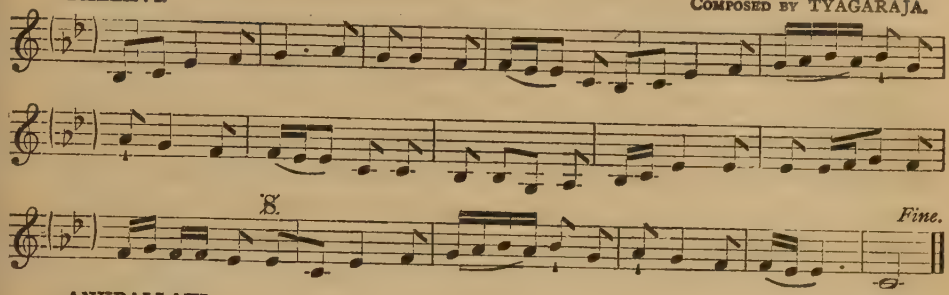
TWO INDIAN MELODIES.

RĀGA—SINDHURĀMAKRIYĀ (Southern).

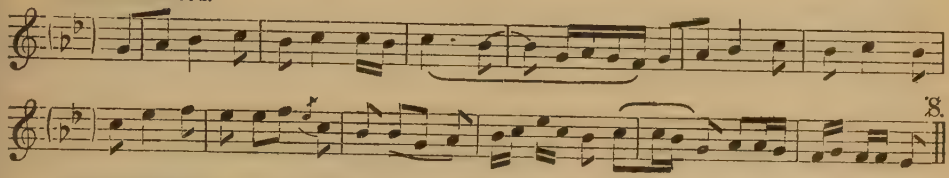
Desādi Tāla, *i.e.*, 4. 2. 2., beginning on the last beat.

PALLAVI.

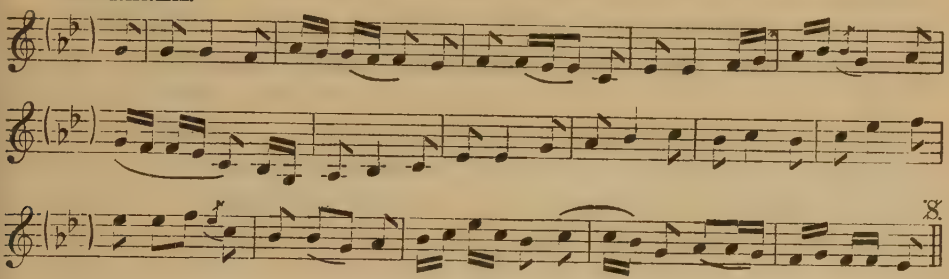
COMPOSED BY TYĀGARĀJA.



ANUPALLAVI.

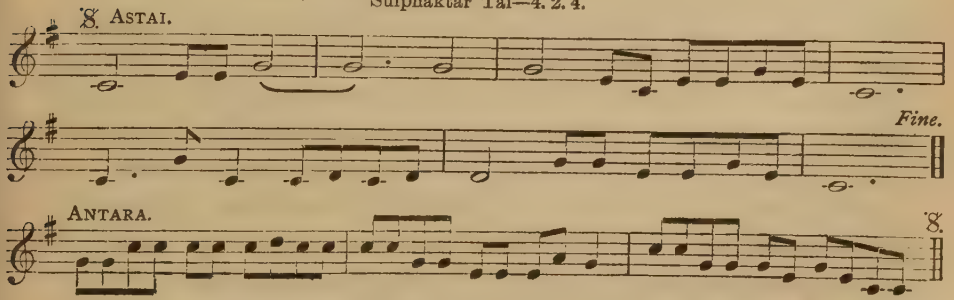


CHARANAM.



MĀLSARI RĀG (Northern).

Sūlphaktār Tāl—4. 2. 4.



note of the presentation. It also makes use of all the experience and illustration of Hindu saints and prophets, finding in each the work of the Spirit of Truth, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world. This method takes away all need for apology or qualification or comparison—that most fatal of evangelistic methods. These are left to the hearer himself. There is no need to beat about the bush for a point of contact. The music and the well-known devotional songs provide this at once. The soul of the *Bāgavatar* and the soul of the hearer come into touch and journey together into the high realms of devotion and truth. The whole thing is so natural, so unforced, and at the same time so perfectly clear in its presentation of Christian truth, that both sides can view the truth with their minds free from prejudice.

The Christian *Bāgavatar* does not usually take his orchestra with him. A local *Bhajan* or *Kīrtan* party will be able to supply this need. Many Christian congregations are to-day developing Indian orchestras able to perform this service. The most important man, apart from the *Bāgavatar* himself, is the drummer, upon whom the musical value of the performance largely depends. So the *Bāgavatar* frequently takes his own drummer with him, as good local drummers are hard to get and expensive to pay. The drum provides the time-background for all the melodic work.

It will be helpful to readers if we take the story of Zacchaeus and show how it is worked out according to this method. Of course we never use the name Zacchaeus, most unpalatable of morsels to an Indian. He receives the name of 'the little devotee,' and *The Story of the Little Devotee* provides a challenging and charming title for the whole thing. At the beginning the *Bāgavatar* will sing songs in praise of God and prayers for help and grace during the service. Then follow some introductory passages dealing with any topic which the *Bāgavatar* thinks suitable. The first song in the story proper shows the crowds waiting

outside the city to see the great *guru* (teacher) who is to visit them. This may be followed by an interlude in song, story or chant, showing who the *guru* is, where he has come from and whither he goes, together with some thoughts and illustrations on true greatness. Then in the next story-song we see 'the little devotee' eager to look upon the wonderful face of the new *guru* of whom he had heard so much. The use of dissatisfaction in the religious life is enlarged upon and illustrated from many Indian legends. Then we are introduced to the difficulties in the way of the fulfilment of 'the little devotee's' great desire and how by earnestness and persistence he won through. Many Indian stories like that of Sāvitri and Satyavān are used to show how obstacles always come in the path of the best things and how true love always surmounts them. So we see 'the little devotee' running to the tree and climbing up into its branches, and watch him as the great *guru* comes and grants his desire. It is easy then to find many fine illustrations of the high place of love in religion and to show that the search of man is always met with the search of God. Then another song tells of the bad reputation of 'the little devotee' and how in the presence of Christ a change takes place which at once reveals itself in acts. The need of India for a new character, for honesty and right living, is then faced, and we see how Jesus Himself always changes those who come into contact with Him. The golden chariot wheels of Rāma, rolling over the black stones of the mountain roads to the city of his bride, and as they roll transmuting those black stones into golden nuggets, furnishes a beautiful illustration of the power of a personality like that of Christ to change men. So we proceed to the point where Redemption, long sought for by Indian sages and devotees, enters into the house of 'the little devotee,' and we leave on the minds of the audience the picture of the new life and its creator.

The story is sung in beautiful lyrics, set to good Indian music, and will last from two to three hours. I have seen

large audiences of two to three thousand people listening spellbound to these stories and expositions. During the recent years of special evangelistic campaigns among the middle classes in South India, Aiyadurai Bagavatar, one of the most devoted and talented of our *Bāgavatars*, has done a great deal to clear away prejudice and to break down hostility and suspicion from the minds of multitudes of educated Hindus by this method of the *Kālakshepam*. I have seen the whole atmosphere of a town change in a few days from antagonism to sympathy by the application of lyrical evangelism. It is felt at once that in this we link on the new teaching to all the old experience of India and bring the rich heritage of the past in music and religious experience to build up the new life of love in Jesus Christ.

While it is only a few who can practise this method fully and become full-blown *Bāgavatars*, there is no reason why with some training a large number of Indian evangelists and preachers should not use lyrical evangelism in a modified form. There are many who have some empirical knowledge of music and skill in singing. What is needed is that they should receive training in the science of Indian music and in its proper use, and that they should get into the way of utilizing the vast resources which lie to their hand in Indian religious literature. There are to-day a number of books published in the different vernaculars to supply these needs. At the beginning, however, there must be some provision for a period or periods of practical instruction by proficient teachers. It should begin, of course, in the boarding home and in the seminary, but we cannot deal with that point now. This need was met in Madras in another way recently. In the year 1917 the Christian Academy of Music and the Madras Evangelistic Campaign Committee together undertook to arrange for a summer school of two months' duration for instruction in this subject of lyrical evangelism. Through the enthusiastic support of the Academy of Indian Music it received the co-operation of the leading Indian Christians

of Madras. The principal of the school was T. Aiyadurai Bāgavatar himself. The students, who numbered twenty-two from eleven different missions, attempted only a limited amount of work. They learnt the fundamental principles of Indian music, a few of the *rāgas* with melodies derived from them, the method of *tāla*, one or two model *kālakshepams*, and a number of good devotional lyrics on the Hindu model set to good tunes. Instruction was also given to individual pupils in playing the violin and the *mṛidaṅga* (drum). Most of those who attended the school benefited greatly, and some of them have been able to conduct *kālakshepams* themselves in a small way since. It is hoped to continue this school from time to time.

The Musical Heritage in Worship

The dominance of western ideas is seen more in our methods of worship than anywhere else. To the ordinary non-Christian Indian the Christian church is a foreign land with no point of contact with worship or culture as he has known it. To begin with, the exterior is of the West, western. The interior is the same. The simple village churches which the western missionary has not yet tried to replace from lack of funds, and a few churches here and there throughout India, are exceptions to this general character. The building of the Church Missionary Society at Peshawar is one of the most beautiful exceptions; it is planned after the fashion of a Mohammedan mosque. Even the soul-destroying western pew, with its repulsive orderliness, has invaded many of the town churches. The service of worship takes after the same character. It is drab western respectability without any of the childlike joyfulness of the East. The Indian pastor, with but few exceptions, has acquiesced in this for the simple reason that he is what the western missionary has made him. The Indian theological seminaries and colleges are largely controlled by men from the West and have hitherto turned out imitations

of the western products. The Indian genius has had no opportunity to express itself in our theological training schools, so that an Indian pastor who had been trained in a Presbyterian seminary once pathetically remarked, in answer to the query as to why he did not give more Indian flavour to his preaching and worship, 'I am only a black Scotchman.' It would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic.

Indians must have opportunity to experiment in worship, even if thereby the western orderliness of the service is somewhat marred. They must have a chance to develop their own hymnology and liturgy, yes, and their own theology too. And let it begin in the theological colleges. The Y.M.C.A. Training School at Ranchi is a daring experiment on these lines which we should like to see copied by many of our theological colleges in India. If we want the kingdom of God to come really in India we of the West have got to become little children, as much as they of the East. We must be ready to face the dangers of the experiments of others and must pack away a good many of our ready-made ideas. One often hears the lament that Indians do not show initiative; but have we ever really given India the chance to develop it? The western boarding school and the western seminary are our machines for turning out copies of the West and of hindering the possibility of a man or woman developing any real initiative on Indian lines. In the building up of the Indian Church much more of the Montessori method is needed.

In the Syrian churches of Travancore there are indigenous methods and ideas of worship. Music has a large place in the service. The prayers are chanted in Indian fashion and the gospel also is read in the same way. The service is mainly choral with plenty of response by the congregation. All who have taken part in the worship of the Syrian churches will readily admit its beauty and charm, and yet very few have tried to utilize it. An attempt has recently been made to work out a service for the Eucharist largely based on that of the Syrian Church. As a rule we have simply

succeeded in evolving Anglican, Wesleyan, Congregational, Baptist or Presbyterian types of worship in India.

Why has the western hymn tune been tied around the neck of the Indian Church? The people are trained into it from six years of age, and the reason given for continuing the practice is that Indian Christians prefer it to Indian lyrics. A good omen for the future is that the younger section of the Church is breaking away from this habit, but it is rather sad that owing to our training they find their greatest opponents in the men and women of their own race.

The South India United Church has prepared and adopted a lyrical form of worship for the Sunday service, which is used to some extent in the Tamil churches. In this all the prayers and chants are sung to Indian melodies and the service is lyrical throughout. It was the late Bishop Lefroy who confessed that the future service for Indian worship would be lyrical on the lines of Hindu worship. It is often objected that good Indian lyrics are not available in many of the vernaculars. This is certainly not so in the south of India, and need not have been so in the north if so much time and enthusiasm had not been given in the past to the preparation of books filled with translations of western hymns. The early missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the Panjab showed both wisdom and enterprise at the beginning of their work in setting aside two of their expert missionaries, with the aid of Indian workers, to write down the Panjabi folk-tunes and in setting the Psalms of David to these, so that to-day all through the Panjab Christian congregations will sing by the hour these old tunes.

One is also glad to see the ordinary drum (*mṛidaṅga*) invading the churches to-day. The orderly western missionary does not like it at first, but even he comes to see its value in Indian worship.

Then it would help the Church to link itself on to national culture if musical festivals were developed as we

find them in Hinduism. There are signs that this is coming. The *Nagarkīrtan*, a musical festival of the whole town with musical processions, is being adopted by some churches, particularly in connexion with the Christian Endeavour Society. The Syrian churches have a festival of Epiphany in which they decorate the town with palms and banana trees and at evening-time light all the houses with innumerable little lamps. It is supposed to represent the coming of the 'light to lighten the Gentiles.' This has been adopted by some of the S.P.G. churches in Western India.

The Musical Heritage in the Home

This needs much fuller treatment than we can give it here. An Indian lady would be the best writer. A few points, however, may be mentioned. The great thing is to give room and opportunity for the national heritage of art, and especially of religious art, to influence the life of the children in the home and to play its rightful part in their culture. It is rare to find Indian music taught in mission schools. One is glad to know that some of the girls' schools in Madras are taking it up, and that the Missionary Council of Aided Education in the Madras Presidency has arranged for the preparation and publication of a special textbook of songs in Tamil for this purpose. It is true that there has been difficulty in getting the right kind of teacher, but it would not have been so difficult to-day if only this need had been recognized before. Every boarding school, whether for boys or for girls, should make a point of teaching both vocal and instrumental Indian music instead of wasting time in teaching western harmony.

Then surely we should recognize that every cultured Indian home ought to have the possibility of making use of this musical heritage. The standard of living and maintenance allowance so often paid to mission workers makes no provision for cultural needs of this kind. The majority of mission workers in India find it hard enough in these

days to keep body and soul together, and there is nothing over to help towards the development of the personality in art and culture. How can our Christianity exercise any vital influence on non-Christian culture when it has no point of contact with it and when those who represent it to the world outside have no opportunity or means to develop points of contact? Christ needs Indian culture and Indian art to express Himself fully to the world, and the world needs it too, in order to give expression to the full sweep of the divine plan in mankind. Listen to the great modern poet of India as he sings in his *Gītānjali* of the meaning of song in the spiritual life.

'I know not how thou singest, my master! I ever listen in silent amazement.

'The light of thy music illumines the world. The life-breath of thy music runs from sky to sky. The holy stream of thy music breaks through all stony obstacles and rushes on.

'My heart longs to join in thy song, but vainly struggles for a voice. I would speak, but speech breaks not into song, and I cry out baffled. Ah, thou hast made my heart captive in the endless meshes of thy music, my master!'

H. A. Popley

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND CHINA'S CANONICAL WRITINGS

By Professor HARLAN P. BEACH

The canonical writings under discussion in this article are the classical books commonly regarded as the orthodox expositions of the Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist systems of ethics and religion. More specifically, the phrase includes for Taoism its original canon, the 'Tao Tê Ching,' or Classic of the Tao and its Manifestations, ascribed to Lao Tzŭ, and the 'Nan Hua Chên Ching,' or True Classic of Nan-hua,[1] written by the most famous of Lao Tzŭ's followers, Chuang Tzŭ, 'mystic, moralist and social reformer,' whose aim, according to the historian, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, was to asperse the Confucian school and to glorify the mysteries of his master. We also include the thin volumes of a probable forgery ascribed to Lieh Tzŭ, but not the essays of Han Fei Tzŭ of the third pre-Christian century, the esoteric works of the prince of the Han dynasty, Huai-nan Tzŭ, nor a modern production of the Taoist School as influenced by Buddhism, the 'Kan Ying P'ien,' or Tractate upon Rewards and Punishments. Of course one would not mention a mass of mystical, magical and puerile writings that have degraded Taoism and made it a laughing-stock and a hissing.[2]

The phrase 'Confucian Classics' is commonly supposed to include only the Five Classics, or Confucianism's Old Testament, and the Four Books, roughly corresponding to our New Testament. Though they are relatively

[1] Dr Wilhelm translates it 'Das Wahrebuch vom südliche Blütenland.'

[2] In imitation of Confucian classics, Taoists later produced two sets of 'Five Classics' and two sets of 'Four Books,' one set of each being mystical and the other magical.

well known in the Occident, four other works, practically unknown, are regarded as filling up the complement of the Thirteen Classics. Of these most of us have only seen the 'Hsiao Ching,' or Classic of Filial Piety, forming the last portion of volume III of the *Sacred Books of the East*. It is through the Nine Classics that Chinese literature and religion are best known; and here it is that Confucius and his equally worthy follower, Mencius, appear as the peers in many respects of their western contemporaries, Socrates and Plato.

As for the Buddhist canon in its Chinese form, it is more difficult to speak. Chinese definitions of canon make it hard to select from its extremely voluminous literature those writings which are deemed true 'Ching' by Chinese Buddhists. The various schools into which that faith has been divided have arisen largely because of this very embarrassment of literature, which caused different leaders to segregate certain works and found their schools upon those particular teachings. Yet we may perhaps follow the estimate of the editor of the *Sacred Books of the East*, who devoted ten volumes of the series to Buddhistic canons.[1] Instead of Max Müller's translation of the 'Dhammapada,' however, that by Beal from the Chinese, with illustrations from life and story, is far better. One would add to these volumes such works as the 'Ta Ch'êng Ch'i Hsin Lun' (Awakening of the Faith) of the Mahâyâna school, about as large as St Mark's Gospel, yet fundamental for the Pure Land Sect of Buddhists; the 'Fo Pên Hsing Chi Ching'—Romantic History of Buddha is the title of Beal's translation and abstracts—and the 'Lêng Yen Ching'—the full Chinese title contains twenty characters—Sutra of Nalanda, extolled by Chu Hsi (the greatest Confucian commentator and in early life himself devoted to Buddhism), as being the best worth reading of all Buddhist literature. Other works, equally important, are omitted in this selected list.

[1] Vols. X, XI, XIII, XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXXV, XXXVI, XLIX.

With very few exceptions, Chinese Protestant missionaries have not studied these sacred books, beyond a small portion of the Confucian literature. Reasons therefor are obvious. Linguistic obstacles stand in the way, first of all. None of them is written in the Mandarin or other colloquial, which is all that most missionaries take time to acquire. The Wên-li in which they are written is so different from the vernacular and so concise that commentaries are required for a true understanding of them. These in turn are in Wên-li and, like the text, contain many unfamiliar ideographs. Again, their very bulk makes the task seem impossible. While the 'Tao Tê Ching' is perhaps the briefest major canon in the world, being about half the length of St Mark's Gospel,[1] as a rule they are very large. Thus the Confucian Classics and their accompanying necessary commentary are far more extensive than our Bible, to say nothing of the 4754 different characters which must be known before the words can even be pronounced. That portion of the Buddhist canon translated by the early Hindu scholars and by one Chinese translator is as large as seven hundred New Testaments; while the 'Ta Pan-jê Po-lo-mi-to Ching,' Hsüan Tsang's translation of the 'Mahâ Prajnâ Pâramitâ Sûtra,' is about eighty times the size of our New Testament, according to Dr Edkins and Mr Beal. Both of these sinologues believe the entire Chinese Buddhist canon to be seven hundred times larger than our Bible. The religious values of this mass of literature embedded in hieroglyps are so limited, in common missionary estimation, that even the most sympathetic friend of Chinese religions shrinks from a task so hopeless and so little rewarding. Perhaps, however, some would undertake it did not other duties, more directly fruitful, already overburden them. A supposedly conscientious use of time

[1] Yet the most comprehensive collection of Taoist scriptures is the 'Tao Tsang Ch'üan Shu' (complete Thesaurus of Taoism), a greatly abridged edition of which contains eighty octavo volumes.

thus debars them from a world of religious thought which is familiar and propædeutic for the Chinese, leaving the missionaries in occidental isolation.

There are other considerations, very different in character, which make the missionary pause in the face of this problem. The Chinese are now living in the twentieth century; and since it dawned, the Confucian Classics have been doomed, first by the abolition of examinations in 1905, and even more effectively by the revolution of 1911 and its aftermath, the republic. The much coveted office-bringing degrees are no longer won by a successful examination upon the Classics; and the life of the republic is almost oblivious of the teachings of the Throneless King, even though the people have not lost interest in the Secondary Sage, Mencius. Again, the national leaders of most advanced views realize the handicaps of their ideographic language. They see their enterprising neighbours struggling to shake off the incubus of Chinese characters, which, despite the fact that Japan has a polysyllabic language and two forms of the Kana syllabary and so does not really require ideographic writing, they still employ in their best books. The educated Chinese revolt against the new phonetic script for any serious purpose, though approving its use for the masses and for lower stages of education. And they compromise their problem by advocating the increasing use of Mandarin of the Pekingese form, the official spoken language of the old Imperial Court. Professor Su Hu of Peking University and a group of the younger foreign trained literary men are pressing this propaganda with some effect, thus seconding the Government's proposition that the medium of instruction must be simplified. But this passing of Confucianism and the waning in consequence of the Wên-li form of the language means that the classical language is yearly diminishing in importance, with fewer Chinese understanding quotations from the sacred books and also with a weakened incentive to read the canonical writings.

To offset partially these discouragements, there is present in limited circles a renewal of interest in the Three Religions and their scriptures. Confucianism came strongly to the front when the new republic was formulating its permanent constitution. In the provisional one freedom of religious belief was proclaimed. But when the parliamentary committee reached that part of the revision of the document, a vigorous attempt was made to constitute the republic a Confucian state. A Confucian Church had been established, and the opposition to religious freedom came from its heads, prominent among whom was Dr Ch'ên Huan-chang, whose two-volume book, *Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, contains the substantive elements of revived and modernized Confucianism. To meet this movement, for the first time the other two recognized religions—and the later exotics, Mohammedanism and Christianity—united their forces in a common attempt to secure religious equality and liberty. Months of agitation and struggle caused the reaffirmation of religious freedom of the provisional constitution, though the new one has not yet been ratified. The effect of this agitation upon Buddhism and Taoism has been to stimulate them into a more vigorous life, particularly the former. As Dr Wilhelm has already stated in this Review,[1] a Buddhist and a Taoist Church have been organized with detailed constitutions recognized by the state. The Taoist Pai Yün Kuan monastery in Peking leads the movement in the north, and the Ching An monastery of the Buddhists in Shanghai has the same pre-eminence in the south, corresponding to the predominance of each faith in its respective section. The Buddhists have issued two periodicals at least in the interests of further awakening, which has likewise been stimulated by conferences and discussions in Hangchow and Shanghai. Is it not the part of wisdom for the Christian Church to aid in this seeming renaissance ? A tour of visitation among

[1] See IRM, 1913 (October), p. 631.

leading Buddhist monasteries of Central China, made in the spring of 1920 by Professors Reichelt of Norway and Hodous of America, both of whom are missionaries and students of Buddhism, revealed readiness to receive Christian fellowship and unexpected interest in the Gospel.

From still another angle it would seem desirable to know the tenets of the Three Religions. For two decades and more a stream of occidental literature, agnostic or definitely anti-Christian, has been coming to China. Some of it has emanated from the Rationalist Press Association of Japan; most of the literature has come in the natural course of scholarly inquiry into the religious and social thought of the West. The personal experiences and observations of returned students from America and Europe, many of whom have lost their Christian faith during their sojourn in those countries, only add to the destructive influence of this type of literature. Many of the new Chinese are doubting the reality of all religions. They cannot hold to the ancient faiths; and they believe that the Christianity which they have seen, and attacks upon which they are reading, is only a lesser evil of the old sort. It is always perilous to leave a nation without a religion. Especially is it true of China, whose religions have far more to be said in favour of their retention than those of other non-Christian lands.

Space limitations prevent the presentation of the convictions of many eminent missionaries and Christian scholars who advocate the use of the important truths of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, not on the ground of their adequacy, nor because of any slightest doubt as to the supremacy and indispensableness of Christianity, but because these religions possess helpful and familiar stepping-stones to the higher teachings of our faith. Legge, Edkins, Medhurst, Faber, Martin, Gibson, Richard, Soothill, Sheffield, Pott, are names of such broad-minded missionaries, and almost without exception men of unusual Chinese scholarship and knowledge of these canons.

In view of the foregoing considerations and many others which might have been adduced, what are Christian missionaries to do with these scriptures? All, certainly, ought to know something about them and their teachings; and those whose contacts and duties bring them into frequent and close association with non-Christians should know much about them, since every Chinese is devoted on occasion to each of the Three Religions. At the very least, they should know the historical outlines and teachings of the three systems. If no more can be done than to read carefully such volumes as Soothill's *Three Religions of China*, or Professor Giles' *Confucianism and Its Rivals*, a measure of intelligence will have been gained. Before classical Chinese has been studied, junior missionaries can read translations of the leading canons. If the high cost of Legge's translation of Confucian and Taoist texts is prohibitive—we refer to those editions containing both text and translations of most of the Confucian books, with their extended prolegomena—the Trübner edition of the life and teachings of Confucius and of Mencius, in two volumes, is not so expensive. Many editions of the 'Tao Tê Ching' are on the market, with Medhurst's the best from the Christian viewpoint, and Balfour's from the Taoist's—the latter also with the Chinese text. Giles' translation of the writings of Chuang Tzŭ is less expensive than Legge's two-volume edition, plus the 'Tao Tê Ching,' etc., included. Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures* can be afforded by most and is very valuable. Many other possibilities are open, both in the line of translations and general discussions, and they will enable the tyro to know the best in these canons before he undertakes Wên-li studies.[1] During the missionary's first furlough and after returning, those who mingle most with educated Chinese, or with priests of Taoist or

[1] See the present writer's annotated Bibliography of 250 works, found in *The Presentation of Christianity in Confucian Lands*, pp. 127–45. New York: 25 Madison Avenue.

Buddhist temples, should study as opportunity permits sections of the sacred canons under the instruction of scholars of those faiths. In studying Buddhism, it is especially necessary to secure Buddhist teachers—provided they are educated, as few are—for the reason that the early translators from India introduced many Sankrit words and phrases by reproducing the foreign sounds in Chinese characters, regardless of their significance; and Confucian teachers know not a syllable of Sanskrit, nor do missionaries themselves oftentimes.

At best, however, missionaries cannot spend much time on these Wên-li scriptures. It is through the education of their constituency, and especially of the teachers and pastors, that they can best further the cause which we are now considering. It can be aided most in higher schools and colleges, and in the training institutions and theological seminaries. For the former class of schools, the following policy is diffidently offered for consideration. As it will long be desirable to teach students the Wên-li style, and as most such institutions already do so in part through the Confucian Classics, why not include in this course excerpts from Taoist and Buddhist scriptures also? No longer do mission schools require the student to read the Confucian Classics in their entirety; and as teachers choose, too often at random, the portions for such reading, one would think that a careful selection of passages containing the best of these ethical and religious teachings is a desideratum. The present writer in a recent sojourn of five months in half the provinces of China did not find any uniformity in such selection, save as some schools used readers published by a Shanghai firm and containing classical selections along with others. It would seem desirable for the Christian Literature Society, or the Christian Educational Association, to appoint a competent committee, made up of Christian Chinese scholars and of a very few of the best educated Buddhist and Taoist priests, to choose these selections. If this were

done and the resultant excerpts were arranged in a topically classified anthology, China would have the text of a most useful source book on comparative ethics and religion. Side by side would be the best that the Chinese scriptures had to say upon vital themes affecting belief and the higher life, together with teachings as to sin and conduct unbecoming the good citizen. All technical terms would need to be explained in notes, as would the Sanskrit words in Buddhist selections. An accompanying translation of the Wên-li into Pekingese Mandarin would serve the double purpose of making intelligible what otherwise might be obscure and of imparting a knowledge of the Pekingese dialect to non-residents of North China. This is the speech that the Government desires to make the standard for the entire republic.

A volume of five hundred pages more or less, thus prepared and taught in the high schools and colleges of the various missions, would form the basis for further studies by students of training and theological schools. As these persons propose to spend their lives in Christian work among people of every shade of religious belief, they should know more thoroughly the threefold scriptures of China, especially as related to the Bible and its teachings. As the Chinese are pre-eminently ethical, an extended study of Taoist, Buddhist and Confucian ethics should be made, with a natural emphasis upon the last named. Having discovered and brought to this tri-religious seminar their findings, discussions as to similarities and differences of the three systems would fix the facts in memory and contribute to a formulation of what Chinese ethics really contain. Even more important and also more difficult would it be to study in a seminar the religious teachings of these canons. Yet it would be most stimulating to enter upon such a search, especially as once and again one would discover rare nuggets of faith and deep longings for an unknown God, little suspected in China. It would be understood in both these courses of study that canons are only

part of the source material. The laboratory of religion lies all about — in the temples, graveyards, festivals, markets and in the daily life of the people. From childhood each student has had ears to hear and eyes to see and tongue to question; but too often have the eyes been holden, the ears stopped and the tongue speechless. Now a Christian 'Ephphatha!' opens up ears and eyes and loosens the tongue to hear, see and speak freely of what his countrymen know of religion and of the unsatisfied longings of their souls. To meet these needs, the class would search for parallels to the truths held, for harmful dissonances, and for Christian teachings that will quench the thirst of their non-Christian fellows. To cultivate ability to mobilize these newly acquired forces and to meet anti-Christian attacks, a clinic for soul therapeutics should be established to which all inquiring or opposing Chinese could be invited for full and frank discussion of religion in all its phases, Chinese and foreign alike. It is easy for Christian students in scholastic halls to discuss such matters together; but it will prove to be a difficult and often a most delicate task to lead on from point to point non-believers who are zealous, or at least interested to see the native religions come out victorious, or at least with unimpaired dignity. The Christian who attempts to conduct such work will fail of his best possibilities if he employs the weapons of ridicule, or sophistry, and especially if he maintains the attitude of 'I am holier than thou' and creates the general impression of superiority and professional condescension for the hour.

If some such course of study and plan of work for Taoists, Buddhists and Confucianists were adopted by the various missions in China, much could be done to win converts to Christianity by both missionaries and Chinese Christians. But the best results are likely to be secured in accordance with the Confucian principle that a tree is best felled by an axe whose helve is taken from its own branches. If a few outstanding men of each of the three religions

could be won and then be carefully trained to win others for Christ, results would probably be greater than if Christians from birth attempted to do it. This does not apply so much to Confucianists as it does to men of Taoist and Buddhist beliefs. One looks eagerly toward the plans of Professor Reichelt and his Buddhist Christian Brotherhood scheme for creating institutes where, in an environment such as they are accustomed to and in accordance with the genius of their religion and traditions, they are taught the truths and life of Christianity. With few modifications, the plan might be adapted by the committee of the China Continuation Committee having that matter in charge, to extend it to Taoists also, since their monastic life is quite similar. From such institutes would go forth to the ministry of the various Churches, or into the lay membership, persons who have always been the religious leaders of China, now coming with another and vastly higher message to the adherents of all three religions.

A still wider work awaits those missionaries of special training and Chinese scholarship who have studied the sacred canons of China, and who have mingled with the educated leaders of the three faiths. The Occident and its most intelligent Christians know practically nothing of China's beliefs; they simply regard its people as 'heathen Chinese' verging closely upon atheism. The writer believes that the time will come when this misunderstanding will pass away. It would greatly hasten the day, if such missionaries as we are considering would co-operate with the fittest and most intelligent representatives of each of the Chinese religions in producing translations of fuller anthologies than those above considered, and in the production of new translations of key volumes of the very best literature, not yet known to the West. It is true that we already have the *Sacred Books of the East* in forty-nine huge tomes, ten of which are devoted to our special faiths. Yet most of the Buddhist books are southern and not representative of the Mahâyâna School.

And as for the translations of Taoist and Confucian works, though Dr Legge was easily foremost in his specialty, the new Chinese scholarship will question his Christian bias and his principle of being dominated by certain commentaries which are not impartial reflections of the mind of the early authors and editors. Higher criticism of the modern type could not exist until the Imperial ban upon heresy was removed from scholars in 1905. The time has come when Chu Fu-tzŭ is dead indeed and when Confucianism will take the place of Chucianism; when Buddhist and Taoist canons can be freely discussed by the combined scholarship of literati of every school. Occidental universities and scholars earnestly desire the *Ex Oriente Lux* of the proverb. And we shall be the more ready to receive it if the light is projected through a three-sided prism of China's combined and co-operating religious leadership, manipulated honestly and interpreted by men whose scholarship is at once occidental and oriental and whose Christian motive is manifest through its very impartiality and utter fairness.

These suggestions will meet with at least four clamant objections which must be stated.

(1) 'They leave out of account the time element; and as such a scheme calls for a large amount of it, nothing can be done.' True as this statement is, it should be remembered that every earnest missionary already has more than he can do. As a wise steward of time, he has made his choices and has divided up his scanty supply among those tasks which seem most important, leaving many things undone. The question arises whether for many workers such knowledge and such endeavours are not a better expenditure of time than is some of the work already planned. It surely is very important that we should know as well as possible our constituency religiously, and that is what we are here advocating.

(2) 'As here admitted, these literatures are so voluminous that one does not know what portions to select.'

Very true; yet if anthologies with annotations and other aids were prepared by the collaboration of the best authorities upon the Chinese and Christian sacred writings this objection would be removed.

(3) 'The Three Religions of China are already moribund; why not ignore them, or if they display signs of life, let sleeping dogs lie?' For a millennium China's religions have been inert. Yet perhaps for a century and more they have not exhibited the same vitality that is now manifested, and certainly they have not been as open to approach as at present.

(4) Many will point back to past attempts to help these various religionists, plans that seem to have miscarried or failed utterly. But surely this is not wholly true. Dr Richard and the Christian Literature Society have justified themselves fully; and China owes a great debt to them, both religiously and otherwise. So, in a somewhat different way, the Chinese have been greatly enlightened, from Ricci's time down to the present, by the work done by Romanists in the realm of literature and science, intended originally for the Confucian literati, but under Doré, Wieger, Zottoli and Couvreur most helpful in enabling the Occident to look within the veil of Chinese religion and superstition. Even granting that some widely proclaimed schemes for winning nations through making a large use of native canons and beliefs do not produce 'converts by the million,' why should not all earnest workers attempt in a simpler and more humble fashion to labour, along the lines of a pedagogical and scriptural method, to win these seekers after an unknown God in the Pauline way of adaptation to all men?

HARLAN P. BEACH

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PHILIPPINE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

By Professor D. J. FLEMING

It is important that missionary educators should bring to their task a background of the best educational experience of the world. We cannot be fully Christian in our work as long as we mediate to other lands educational systems or methods that are far inferior to the possible best. There is therefore a growing feeling that missionary societies have an obligation to enable those who are in responsible charge of their educational work to keep abreast with the best modern developments in education through study and travel, especially during their first furlough. Of peculiar interest to the missionary educator is the system of education in the Philippine Islands. True it is a governmental, tax-supported system, serving only 11,000,000 people, and in an area extremely small compared with China or India. Yet the ways in which difficulties and conditions have been met by a foreign agency seeking to develop a curriculum suited to the needs of Filipino life and beginning with teachers most inadequately equipped for their task, have their lessons for us. The object of this article is to describe certain aspects of the Philippine system that may prove most suggestive to missionaries.

The Threefold Aim. So explicitly threefold is the aim of the Bureau of Education that they sometimes speak of their 'three-phase system.' They set out to help each student academically, industrially and physically. Having once taken this as their aim, they arrange for specialization

to take place amongst teachers and supervisors along these three lines. It is evidently a little difficult to attain an ideal balance among these objectives. There was a time when the new and striking undertakings in industrial and athletic training caused the academic side to be relatively neglected. Again, leaders on the industrial side would be transferred to academic work under the influence of an enthusiast for that side of the task. But difficulties in adjusting and balancing three such aims are to be expected in the problem of curriculum making. The noteworthy thing is that definite aims had been formulated and that each aspect of the goal was pursued with such directness and virility that a process of adjustment was necessary.

The threefold aim may be illustrated in connexion with the primary schools. The majority of the pupils never get beyond the fourth grade or standard and so it is felt that something toward each of these aims must be done for each pupil. Academically, the aim is to give the great mass of the population elementary instruction in reading and writing English, in home and world geography, and in sufficient arithmetic for simple business transactions and to avoid imposition by exploiters. Industrially, they aim in the primary to instil a respect for labour. In particular they want to help the Filipino boy to cultivate a home garden, and to do simple carpentry for the home, to weave hats, mats, slippers and baskets from local materials, and to handle simple business affairs. They aim to help the Filipino girl to prepare a wholesome meal, to make her own clothes, to weave hats, mats, etc. Physically, they aim to impart the rudiments of home and village sanitation, to improve the quality and variety of food through developing gardens, to abolish poor and unsanitary cooking through classes in domestic science, and to correct physical underdevelopment by inaugurating group games and athletics. There is, it is true, a very definite moral aim worked out in the course on ' Good Manners and Right Conduct,' in

which an effort is made to instil habits of rectitude and courtesy and a knowledge of the rights and duties of citizens. Specialization, however, has not developed in the pursuit of this aim.

The dominating idea back of this education is the training of the masses for citizenship rather than the education of a few to govern the masses. Hence the Bureau of Education has regarded the maintenance and extension of the system of primary schools as of first importance. The approval of the Director is necessary for the opening of a new secondary school, and before permission is given he must have reasonable assurance that its maintenance will not require funds needed for the support of primary work.

Brains at the Centre. In order to carry out their threefold aim a well-manned central office has been developed. There is a Director, two Assistant Directors and eight differentiated departments. Their field force consists of some fifty division superintendents with supervising teachers under them. Undoubtedly one factor making progress possible in the Philippine educational system has been the provision of brains at the centre where control is exercised over one complete system. It has been the business of the central office to profit by the Spanish experience, study the desires and needs of the Filipino people, institute economic and industrial surveys, consult foreign countries having similar conditions and to make first hand experiments. An adequate central office is expensive, but every modern successful educational system pays the price. Can missions hope to succeed when their units work in isolation?

Supervision. One of the most prominent aspects of the Philippine educational system is the emphasis placed on supervision. This was especially necessary at the beginning because of the deficiency in professional attainments on the part of the available teachers. Each of the fifty educational sections into which the territory of the

islands is divided has its superintendent. Under these are 447 supervisors, as follows:[1]

	Academic.		Industrial.		Supervising.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
American . .	9	2	17	3	49	2	82
Filipino . .	10	2	43	37	272	1	365
					Grand Total . .		447

Supervision in the Philippines is not mere inspection but is a form of continued teacher training. The supervisor's work has changed with the evolution of professional attainments on the part of the teachers. At the beginning, twenty years ago, when the majority of the teachers had little more in the way of qualification than attendance at an elementary school, the supervisor had to give the teacher elementary academic instruction. Later they gave attention to details of organization, methods of instruction and school management. At present they are able to discuss with their teachers broad ideas of aim and of method and are placing on them more responsibility for the working out of details. Even yet, however, many young men and women with little education and no training must be taken into the teaching force. The only way of rapidly developing efficiency in such recruits is through supervisors who give criticism lessons and otherwise aid in solving school problems.

In the beginning the supervising districts were made too large. Experience showed that no supervisor, however energetic, could do effective work when frequent visits to each school were impossible. They have also found that the most successful superintendent of schools is a man

[1] *Twentieth Annual Report of the Director of Education* (1919), pp. 114-7.

who is more skilled in supervision than in administration. Fortunately, supervising ability can be developed through education more readily than ability in administration. Missions which place all supervision of schools on the shoulders of missionaries or pastors already overburdened or without any preparation for this work have much to learn from the results that come from an investment in more thorough professional supervision.

Summer Teacher Institutes. A very important factor in the after-care of teachers is the system of summer teacher training institutes. Beginning about 1905, a Vacation Assembly has been held annually for Filipino teachers at Manila. Still more appreciated is the Vacation Assembly at the mountain resort of Baguio. These assemblies are held for five weeks. Each province sends certain of its leading teachers; others go at their own expense. The combined attendance at these two assemblies averages 1700 persons. They value the complete change of environment, the advantages of study along special lines, and the opportunity of mingling with others engaged in the same profession but under different conditions. Noted lecturers give courses on educational and other subjects, and conferences are held for supervising teachers, for industrial teachers and for high school teachers and principals.

These two vacation assemblies are definitely preparatory for the divisional normal institutes which are held in practically all the provinces. Those who attend the central assemblies are called on to teach in the divisional schools. These are held in the various divisions at the same time for five weeks, using two weeks of vacation time and three weeks of the regular school year. All teachers are expected to attend these divisional institutes, for they provide the only training apart from supervision that a large number of village teachers receive. In the early days service in conducting this institute was part of the requirement of all American teachers. It is significant that 80 per cent of the total teaching force actually attend these institutes.

Through the two central assemblies and the divisional institutes, a new plan or method can be made to pervade the whole school system in a single year. For example, some approved design in lace-making, embroidery or basketry will be taught in the vacation assembly, transferred by its students to the divisional institutes, and from these taken to every school in the islands. One year they may concentrate on training the teachers in directed play; another on some improvement in teaching English.

Still another plan for developing teachers is the arrangement for them to visit wideawake, progressive fellow-teachers. Professional libraries for supervisors and for teachers have also been started in most divisions as a part of the office of the divisional superintendent or as a part of the high school libraries. A reading course designed for all instructors in intermediate schools has stimulated professional reading among teachers. The Bureau of Education issues as suggestions for teachers a large number of bulletins and circulars, covering such subjects as domestic science, drawing, manners and right conduct, school buildings and grounds, embroidery and athletics. The great importance of the school library is recognized and a beginning has been made in training teachers in library management.

Participation by Supervisors and Teachers in Developing the System. As has been seen the Philippine system of education is very highly centralized. Yet in actual practice provision is made for receiving suggestions from supervisors and teachers. Many of the accepted policies of the Bureau have been the outcome of conferences of industrial workers, of supervising teachers, of school principals or of divisional superintendents. For a week annually the divisional superintendents and head teachers are brought together for discussion. Ideas voiced in the supervisors' classes, divisional normal institutes and in the two summer vacation assemblies are taken under consideration by the central office.

One gets the impression of an active circulatory system, with ideas, plans and methods, both going to and coming from the centre. For example, in some area of the field a local economic or industrial survey will be made; or a teacher will develop some original idea, article, or use of a new material. Through assistant supervisors and supervisors this information is rapidly passed on to the general office. Here experts do creative work in improving the materials, designs, dyes and methods; revise and standardize the product; introduce it into the general course for industrial work; send standardized designs to the schools; and organize advice, exhibits, publications and materials in such a way as to include the new idea or process. Thus articles and designs originating in the field are perfected and standardized in the general office and returned to the field in prescribed courses. The participation by the field has produced *esprit de corps*; the centralized control has produced efficiency. In some of our mission fields, notably in India, immense loss in efficiency has resulted from the fact that there has been no such circulation of the results of the best experiments.

Physical Training. The Service Manual says that students of all grades and courses should be required to participate in organized games and athletics for from thirty to forty-five minutes daily. It is noteworthy that the system aims to provide physical training for all, rather than that a selected few should go through games for the entertainment of the many. Before the American occupation there was little of the play spirit and athletic sports were practically unknown. Now popular interest is very great and it is said that crowds of enthusiastic spectators attend every meeting of importance. Interest in cock-fighting and gambling has manifestly decreased.

Only gradually did they find the games which were suited to the Philippine temperament and climate. Indoor base-ball (played outside), volley-ball and tennis are played much more than base-ball or basket-ball. To help in the

development of play, an athletic handbook has been issued by the Bureau of Education; summer teacher conferences have given instruction to all teachers on the supervision of play, the teaching of group games and the teaching of calisthenics; and a grand athletic tournament is held annually, beginning with each village and going up to the general interscholastic meet in connexion with the Philippine Carnival. Furthermore, a school is not classified as having a 'standard' site unless it has a certain minimum area for playgrounds and gardens. Thirty-five per cent of the schools have attained this classification as regards their sites.

Industrial Work. After the centralized system of control and the elaborate system of supervision and after-care, the most distinctive feature of Philippine education is its emphasis on industrial work. Of all children in the schools 91 per cent are doing some form of industrial work every school day in the year. At first there was great objection to manual labour. In many regions the people were prejudiced against industrial work because they thought it was a plan by which the teachers meant to supplement their salaries through selling the products of the school. Parents protested that they sent their children to school not to learn how to work but how not to work. It is noteworthy that it was by the introduction of industrial activities into all types of schools and practically into every grade of each school that the old prejudice against manual labour was broken down.

An attempt has been made to root the industrial work in the soil. Local available materials, local needs, local inclinations to a particular kind of industry, the manual dexterity characteristic of the Filipino have been considered. In the earliest days when the Bureau was too busy with details of organization to give much attention to details of the curriculum each teacher was allowed to work out the local problem as he saw fit. In 1905 the Bureau formally prescribed industrial work but left the

details to the local areas. It was not until 1914 that the amount of industrial work required of all pupils was prescribed, special industrial courses were outlined, and the various recognized courses which could be conducted in each division and municipality and school were determined upon by the general office on the basis of economic information concerning commercial possibilities.

Industrial Work in the Primary. Five recitation hours a week are given to industrial work in the primary. The courses open to boys in the first grade are macramé and hand-weaving; in the second grade additional choice may be made from courses on the making of mats, baskets, brushes, brooms and gardening; in the third grade are added courses on hats, sedge slippers and hand-bags; in the fourth grade the range of choice is made to include bamboo, coconut and wood carving; wood-working and bamboo and rattan furniture. As the interest in education spreads, the average age in the primary decreases, and more and more the use of the heavier tools must be postponed to the intermediate. The courses open to girls in the first grade are the same as for the boys except that sewing is added. In the second grade they may take sewing and any one of the following: bobbin or filet lace, tatting, elementary Irish crochet, macramé or mats. In the third grade sewing for two periods and any one of several other choices for three periods. In the fourth grade cooking and housekeeping for one period, sewing for one period, and any one of several other choices for three periods.

Vocational Work in the Intermediate. In the intermediate there is distinct specialization along vocational lines. The following six courses have been organized, although any one school may not arrange for all: general, teaching, trade, farming, housekeeping and household arts. The teaching course was discontinued last year having served a very pressing need during the early years, for even after ten years only a fourth of the teachers had received

any secondary training whatever. With more material available from higher grades, training at the intermediate stage is not now needed. In the trade and farming courses three consecutive periods are given daily to shopwork and farmwork respectively, in the others five periods a week.

Agricultural Training. There are three classes of schools giving training in farming. An 'agricultural school' is one which emphasizes agricultural instruction by cultivating an extensive farm throughout the year, and which furnishes subsistence and dormitory accommodation to pupils wholly or in part at government expense. A 'farm school' is a provincial school which emphasizes intensive farming, and offers a course in farming for boys and a course in housekeeping and household arts for girls. It does not provide either subsistence or dormitory accommodation. A 'settlement farm school' is a non-subsistence primary school established in a sparsely settled region as the nucleus of a permanent settlement, the farmwork being handled throughout the year on the communal plan. It will be possible to describe one school only.

The Central Luzon Agricultural School. The Central Luzon Agricultural School is an example of the first class mentioned above. It aims to train boys to secure practical results in farming under conditions that they must meet later on and to supply agricultural leaders and teachers. Students enter after having completed the four years of primary work. All grades are divided into two sections, one of which recites from 7.30 to 11 a.m., and the other from 2 to 5.30 p.m. This arrangement allows each student to spend one half the day in the classroom and the other half in practical outdoor tasks. The teachers have five hours of class-work and four hours of supervision. There are seven American and six Filipino teachers on the staff, besides twenty scholarship helpers. About 120 of the 800 pupils are called 'farmer students' and live in small detached dormitories here and there over the farm area. Students are allowed to take responsible charge of

given areas in pairs, so that one may be in school and one working all the time. Thus the school animals and implements which are loaned to the students are not left unused during academic periods. The main emphasis is placed on farming and on hog and chicken raising. Students, however, may get additional training in such activities as carpentry, blacksmithing, running machinery, etc., and may continue their training in specialized courses after they have completed the intermediate. The school is organized so that the students share very largely in the management. Each type of work has its student foreman, or class captain, recruited from the advanced classes. Given the men, materials, tools, and implements, these captains are expected to get results and to record them in terms of materials and costs. It is found that the poultry and other projects of the school fail if carried out by student work at so much an hour. The students should own their projects; or if the work is such as can be measured, the contract system is used.

A school bank is managed by the students. Careful accounts are kept of advances to students for running expenses, and credits are given for extra work. The students are expected to give four hours' work (or its equivalent in cash) per day for subsistence. Space forbids a description of the garden day celebrations started in 1912, the preparation and distribution of planting calendars, the maintenance of nurseries, the popularization of the new receipts for vegetables, the carrying on of food campaigns and the introduction of new and better kinds of crops. Nor can one give further detail with reference to the important subject of teacher training. Perhaps enough has been said to justify missions in recommending to their societies that one or more of their leaders in education be given the time and the means for enriching educational equipment through observation of methods and results in the Philippines.

D. J. Fleming

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH IN THE NEAR EAST

By SHERWOOD EDDY

If one may judge from recent experiences in evangelistic meetings we are at the beginning of a new era in mission work. This seems especially true in the open door of access in the Near East. The writer spent five weeks in Egypt and a month in Turkey in meetings for Moslems and Christians. We landed in Egypt in the midst of the unrest and ferment created by the report of the Milner Commission. During the first three days a Prayer Conference was held for Christians and workers gathered from all parts of Egypt. We concentrated upon the theme of personal evangelism and the winning of non-Christians for Christ. In the public evangelistic meetings two theatres were filled in succession each night. On the opening night the subject was 'The Foundations of National Life' (taking the four corner-stones upon which the new Egypt must be built if she is to gain or to keep her independence—honesty, purity, self-sacrifice and righteousness); on the second night, 'Purity'; on the third night, 'The Existence and Character of God'; on the fourth night, 'What is Christianity?'; on the fifth night, 'The Call to Christian Discipleship'; and on the last night, 'Decision.' The majority of the audience was made up of Copts, but there were also numbers of Moslems, Jews and Protestants. In the after-meeting scores of questions were sent up which were answered each night. In four other cities in Egypt similar meetings were held for mixed audiences of Christians and non-Christians, the attendance rising in one city to over six thousand a night. Almost the entire audience remained for a second

hour to ask questions and have their doubts and difficulties answered. The hearing given by non-Christians as well as Christians was open and deeply responsive.

We next spent two weeks in Constantinople. Upon arrival we met the leaders of the different faiths and nationalities, members of the Cabinet, the Sheik ul Islam, the former Grand Vizier, the Armenian Patriarch, the heads of the Greek Church and of other communities. The Sheik ul Islam was most friendly. We were asked to speak in the Imperial Ottoman University to a select audience of professors and students on the present world situation. The Turkish Minister of Education arranged two large meetings in a theatre, one for six hundred Turkish women students and the other for twelve hundred men students. Immediately following these meetings we continued meetings in the theatre for students, Turkish officers and representative men of the city. We never felt a deeper sense of our common humanity than in the meeting with the Turkish women students. Indeed, we found the Turks to-day more open-minded to receive a message of hope than we could have believed possible. Every night in the new theatre we spoke to a mixed audience of some twelve hundred Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Catholics and Protestants. During the last two nights a thousand each night stayed to an after-meeting, where we answered questions concerning their doubts and difficulties on the religious life until the meeting place was claimed for other purposes.

We also conducted meetings in the various colleges. One thing seems evident: Constantinople and Cairo, Turkey, Egypt and the Near East are now wide open for a great advance in friendly approach to Mohammedans. A new day has dawned. In the Imperial Ottoman University and in the Turkish meetings one was struck by the fact that the large majority of Turkish students, by the very process of modern education, have lost their old faith and are almost without vital religion. Some are atheists, more

are agnostics and a large number have fallen helpless victims to sin.

If now we are to seek to enter this open door and win our non-Christian friends in the Near East and elsewhere, what principles underlie the Christian approach? What plan are we to follow? Two methods stand out in clear contrast: the polemic and the irenic; the method of argument, debate, contrast and comparison on the one hand, and on the other the method of loving approach along lines of least resistance, not to contrast one religion with the other but to bring every man face to face with Jesus Christ and let Him make His own winsome and irresistible appeal. The old method not only seemed natural to us but often seemed to be forced upon us by the Moslem himself. We placed in contrast Christianity and Islam, Christ and Mohammed, the Christian worker against the inquirer, and the interview drifted almost inevitably into one of argument and debate. We thus aroused and called into conflict against us all the man's prejudice, his patriotism, his loyalty, his deepest religious experience and everything that he held dear. It was a tug-of-war. If we won the argument we were all the more certain to lose the man. Has not this method been tried by us all and found wanting?

The other method of approach definitely refuses argument, debate, contrast and comparison. Instead of speaking as a Christian to a Mohammedan, instead of placing one religion against another, we speak as man to man. We make the approach not on the plane of intellectual argument but we appeal chiefly to the heart and conscience. We speak to him as a man in sin, in need of a Saviour from sin, and bring him face to face with Jesus as the Friend of Sinners. We cannot call it a new method for it was the method of our Lord and the apostles. They were not debaters but witnesses. In every argument there are two persons concerned, the worker and the inquirer. One is pitted against the other. When a man truly witnesses for Christ, however, there are not two but

three persons concerned, the Spirit of God, the witness and the inquirer. The whole approach is different.

If we examine the method of Jesus and the apostles in the New Testament, we find that there are certain clear spiritual principles which should guide us in our approach to Mohammedans and to every one else. Four of these principles are clearly stated by the Apostle Paul in 2 Cor. iv. 2, 'I disown those practices which very shame conceals from view; I do not go about it craftily; I do not falsify the word of God; I state the truth openly and so commend myself to every man's conscience before God' (*Moffatt's translation*). To begin with, the worker's own life must be cleansed. He does not seek to destroy error but to state truth; not to drive out darkness but to let in light; not to tear down what the man has but to give him something better; not to disprove or attack his religion but to give him life more abundantly; not to reflect upon Mohammed but to present Jesus Christ. This appeal is not primarily to the intellect but to the conscience and the will. Has not our approach been too long intellectual rather than moral, argumentative rather than persuasive? We must appeal to the man not as a Mohammedan, a Hindu or a Buddhist, but as a sinner in need of a Saviour. Finally, we work 'in the sight of God,' not for the praise of man, not in fear of man but before God.

We also find other general principles in the New Testament that may guide us in our approach to the Moslem. (*a*) Let us seek the most favourable point of contact at the outset and advance along the line of least resistance. We must speak to the Jews as a Jew, to the Greeks as a Greek, to Moslems—if not as Moslems at least as those who understand their attachments and passionate prejudices. If the ideas of Father, Son, Trinity and the death of Christ are utterly repugnant and are the ground of fierce debate, if they are carnally conceived or bitterly denied, rather than begin an endless contention on these terms, can we not find some more favourable first approach in God as the loving

Creator, and in the teaching and character of Jesus Christ and the winsomeness of His friendship, especially as the Friend and Saviour of sinners, until Christ has made His own appeal and has begun to draw the man by cords of love and attachment?

(*b*) Our approach must be gradual, advancing one step at a time as men are able to receive the truth, even as our Lord said, 'I have many things to say unto you but ye cannot bear them now.' Not till late in His ministry, when He had asked the question, 'Whom say ye that I am?' and they had come to understand His person and to see Him as the Christ, did He pass on to the next truth and say, 'The Son of Man must suffer.' Then and only then were they able to receive the teaching concerning His death.

(*c*) Let us bring the inquirer face to face with Jesus Christ and let Him make His own impression. 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Myself.'

(*d*) Above all else, may we let God conduct the interview through us, and keep the issue always centred upon Christ. Napoleon always chose his own battlefields. Let us do the same. We have but one and that is Christ. Let us keep returning to our one immovable centre.

At the close of the month of meetings in five principal centres in Egypt, a group of Christian workers met to consider the outlook for a friendly approach to our Moslem brethren. As the result of this conference the following principles were suggested:

1. The immediate withdrawal of all controversial literature which in the end proves to have a hindering effect on the Mohammedans, especially the literature which is unnecessarily offensive, if on the attack, or bad tempered, if on the defensive.

2. The only literature for Moslems which should be suffered to remain is literature of a suasive, informatory type, e.g., invitations to read the Bible, studies of aspects of the redemptive work of Christ.

3. Mohammed will have to be left severely alone.

4. Modifications in the style of preaching should follow the same lines as the literature. There must be much more conviction concerning the infamy

of sin and proportionately less comparison of the respective merits or truth of the religions.

In the light of the meetings held throughout the Near East and of altering political conditions in Turkey and Egypt and throughout the Mohammedan world, we believe that the time is ripe for a direct, friendly and loving approach to our Moslem friends with the good news of life abundant in Jesus Christ.

SHERWOOD EDDY

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A GREAT BOOK ON PRAYER

Das Gebet, Eine Religionsgeschichtliche und Religionspsychologische Untersuchung. By Friedrich Heiler. 2nd enlarged and improved edition. Munich: Reinhardt. 1920.

Here is an extraordinary book. The large majority of books about religion are strangely poor even in problems, let alone in solutions. Some few are rich in problems, felt and pictured in their full poignancy. Only one book in a hundred, or perhaps in a thousand, brings the problems with their solutions, the poignancy and the peace. Professor Heiler's work on Prayer belongs very clearly to the second group.

The bulk of the book studies the eight chief types of prayer: the *naif* prayer of primitive man; the ritual prayer-formula and the hymn; prayer in the religion of Greek civilization at its height; the criticism and ideal of prayer amongst the philosophical thinkers; prayer in the personal piety of the great religious geniuses; the individual prayer of great poets and artists; common prayer in public worship; and finally, individual prayer as a religious duty and good work in the legalist religions. By far the most important parts of the work are those on *naif* prayer, on the prayer of the great religious personalities, and on the common prayer of public worship.

The book overflows with interest for the missionary, especially in its delicate and generous penetration of the prayer of native races, in its precise and firm elucidation of why and where rationalist philosophy goes astray, and in its strangely self-conflicting positions concerning public worship—concerning the living appeal and the abiding ideal of such worship. I will here concentrate entirely upon these latter positions which, indeed, sum up the tendency of the entire work.

On pp. 221–2, Heiler dwells upon the pure spirituality of the great religious geniuses: this one Heiler. On pp. 470–7 he insists upon the Christian public worship as, from the first, being one of sense as well as spirit: this is quite another Heiler. Indeed he writes:

There is no doubt that in the Catholic Sacramental worship offered to God present in the Eucharist—to the *præsens numen*, more, and more fervent, prayer and adoration is offered to God than in the Protestant worship through the Word. But although the Catholic worship gives forth a deeper religious life, although its character of a Mystery goes back to the very earliest times of Christianity, the Ideal of worship is on the side of Protestant Christianity. The Protestant common worship, i.e., the spiritual adoration of God free from all sacrifice, an adoration offered by an assembly of mature Christian personalities, is the highest and purest form of Cultus, is the true Common Worship. Protestant Christianity cannot and must not repudiate this ideal, even if the religious psychology of the masses contradicts it and even if the religious life which proceeds from it, is, for the most part, poor and thin.

Now the central interest, central difficulty, and, to be frank, the central inadequacy of this rich book, lies, to my mind, precisely in this putting into conflict the great religious geniuses and the real spiritual needs of mankind at large and in keeping this conflict unresolved. Indeed the Professor loves the *aut-aut*; whilst I believe real life mostly demands the *et-et*. There is here a doctrinaire over-refinement which the author assuredly does not get from his Roman Catholic bringing-up, but rather from the subtlest and least satisfactory side of Lutheranism. When on pp. 221–2 he quotes St John's Gospel, 'God is a Spirit and they that would worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth,' and when he quotes Justin Martyr as insisting upon the priesthood of all believers, he curiously forgets that the Fourth Gospel is sacramental through and through, and again, that Justin Martyr gives us a very full and emphatic description of the Christian worship of his time as essentially an act, a sense and spirit drama carried out by men who are priests in a technical sense. It is very certain that quite two-thirds of the New Testament is sacramental, and that the older incorporations of Christianity in East and in West are similarly sacramental. True; there are certain critical difficulties with regard to tracing back any full sacramental doctrine or practice to the very words and acts of the earthly Jesus. Yet, we are still by no means obliged by sound criticism to doubt the full historicalness of the Eucharistic words and acts given by the first three evangelists as spoken and performed by Jesus Himself at the Last Supper. And in any case I cannot discover a trace, in the very certain sayings and doings of Jesus, of a disposition which would find the ideal of true spirituality in a religion entirely outside of sense-symbols and sense-contacts and entirely

above and outside the apprehension of the average man. After all, it is true—is it not ?—that some kind and degree of *incarnational* conviction and practice is of the very heart of Christianity. Nor would it be fair to forget that Judaism, in this also, taught and practised in its degree and manner the sane and solid truth. We have only to remember that the complete tradition of Judaism was not simply the synagogue, but the synagogue and the temple.

It is greatly to the credit of Dr Heiler's religious sensitiveness and sincerity that he should so emphatically insist upon the greater depth and frequency of the spiritual life within the sense and spirit religions as contrasted with the pure spiritualities. Yet it undoubtedly makes his persistence in the ideal of a spirituality free from all sense symbols and sense stimulations (a spirituality of the cultured few who now have attained to superiority above all those vulgar needs) exceedingly harsh if not impossible. There is about this position something strange, subtle, abstract, rather Stoic than Christian. For myself I must remain in the crowd, not only for the crowd's sake but especially for my own. The full Christian tenderness and genial humility requires, so history seems clearly to show us, a greater recognition of the needs of sense and of society for us all. Indeed, in some respects these needs appear to be truly permanent needs especially for the most cultivated and the most experienced amongst human souls.

During the many weeks of my close occupation with the work now before us, I have been struck with the curious excess of the writer's impressions from some facts over his capacity for remembering some supplementary facts, indeed some entire worlds. It is as though the mind of the Professor were gold, so pure as to yield to every pressure. We have thus an author more many-sided than large-minded, or, at least, than hard-headed. Now the great religious common worships of the common man can be accused, at least plausibly if not truly, of many a defect. But hard-headedness they do possess ; and life (the life which, after all, God requires us all to lead here below) requires—does it not ?—a certain shrewdness and some hard-headedness. It is thus difficult to see why these harder qualities and virtues should not also have their place in religion. They certainly have such a place in the religion of an Isaiah, of an Augustine, and of a Teresa. Why not, then, in our own lives within our small degree ? For myself I cannot allow the wholesome workableness. the brotherly humility of the

religious ideal to be insidiously weakened and inflated by such super-refinement.

Dr Heiler seems pursued by the fear of insincerity towards the early Christian documents and their evidences. Yet the lessons of history and still more of spirituality as he himself recognizes them (during, say, half his time), these also have their claims, and, indeed, claims more clear and more massive than are the claims which Dr Heiler is so anxiously afraid of disallowing.

One of the finest parts of the Professor's book is that which bravely points out the utter inadequacy in religion of Kant and other philosophers. But he does not seem to realize into how acute an antagonism he places himself, not against philosophers indeed, but against psychologists. I mean that no sound psychologist (unless, indeed, he be blinded by some doctrinaire preconception) will henceforth allow for mental processes divorced from all sense stimulation and sense symbols. The two celebrated deaf and blind mutes whom psychologists have studied so carefully were found (when a substitute for their defective senses had at last been devised) to be without any idea of God or soul or duty or conscience ; in fact, of anything invisible. So little is it true that for our spirit's life here below the senses are mere distracting forces. No doubt the life of the senses introduces endless complications and countless dangers into our mental and spiritual life. Yet they are and remain the occasions, the stimulants, the vehicles, for our mental and spiritual apprehension. And although individuals here and there, and small religious bodies to a certain extent and for a while, seem to have got beyond this our human necessity, they indeed only seem to have done so. Dear great George Fox thought that he drew all his knowledge of God as spirit and love from direct revelation. Nothing of the kind. He had the Jewish and the Christian Bible in his hands and in his heart. Dr Heiler is indeed finely insistent upon the debt of even the most original spirituality to its predecessors—to Successive Society. A pity only that, when in his specifically Puritan mood, he will not recognize a somewhat similar indebtedness of spirituality to Sense.

I wish there had been room here to dwell upon other subject-matters carefully studied in this book, a work astonishing in its width and detail of reading, especially as proceeding from so young a man. I cannot exaggerate my admiration and gratitude for the way in which throughout the work God and the soul and the relations between the two—in which Prayer—appear always what indeed

they are, not mere human projections, not despairing or foolish hypotheses; but essentially facts, realities, greater than all we can at all adequately or can really experience and analyse.

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL

LONDON

CHRIST AND HUMAN NEED

CHRIST AND HUMAN NEED: Being Addresses delivered at a Conference on International and Missionary Questions, Glasgow, January 4th to 9th, 1921. London: Student Christian Movement. 3s. net. 1921.

No one interested in the deeper life of our time can afford to neglect this little volume. It deals with one vitally important phase of the missionary problem to-day, the profound influence upon missionary work of the impact of European civilization upon the life of the non-Christian peoples. This of course raises many important questions of war and of peace, indeed of the whole condition of the civilization of Christendom. The great conference of students which met in Glasgow formed the immediate audience of the speakers. Their speeches were deeply interesting at the moment, but it may be said at once that they are much better to read even than they were to hear.

As the result of the careful selection of speakers and planning of the topics, the Report is now likely to be a powerful instrument of education both in the universities and the mission field for years to come. There is not a little in it which will be warmly controverted, but there is hardly a dull page in it, and, which is more, it is genuinely constructive, there being little in it of what may be called the cruetstand type of criticism—all irritant and no food.

The contents of the volume may be briefly indicated.

Viscount Grey's opening address on 'The Need and Possibility of a New World' is of peculiar interest. It sets the main issue before us in the clearest terms—'Civilization has received an ultimatum.' If it cannot prevent war it is doomed. How can the Student Christian Federation help? The initial question of war being thus dealt with, the volume passes to the impact of civilization of Christendom to-day on India, China and Africa and discusses these from different points of view. The central question 'Is Christendom fit for a world task?' is next faced. The volume then turns from the troubled world of time to the eternal, and in six addresses deals with the great

themes of God, of Jesus and the Kingdom of God, of the Church, of the Cross and of the Divine Power in the life of man.

The scope of the book, it will be seen, is ambitious and even audacious. It is, in effect, a survey of the whole tremendous field, and of the essence of the Christian faith by which the world can be overcome and won. It is a call to the youth of the world, which has already suffered so much, to the spiritual conflict of which the physical war has been the prelude and into the heart of which the world, as Viscount Grey declares, has already come. Some will no doubt think the book one-sided, but the net effect of it and of the conference, in one reader's judgment at least, is extraordinarily invigorating and hopeful. Can we defend this view?

Some of the readers of this Review may have seen a popular engraving of the early Victorian time. In the foreground stood an African potentate with ostrich feathers in his hair, and a look of awe and humble gratitude in his eyes. In front of him stood the young Queen (after Winterhalter) graciously presenting him with a massive Bible. Behind her stood a semicircle of the elder statesmen in various graceful attitudes, but with one expression of complacent approval. The title of the picture indicated that the Queen was saying to the potentate, 'This is the secret of England's greatness.' The reader of the earlier part of this volume must be conscious of an absolute revolution in the sentiment of the best mind of our country. The astounding self-complacency of those days has given place to what can be described as nothing less than a conviction of national sin. For undoubtedly the haunting fear that runs through these addresses is that instead of our civilization leading other races to accept the Gospel, it may repel them from it. What has brought about the change in tone? It is no doubt, in part, the shock of the great war. It is felt that there has been something wrong with the civilization that has produced so terrible a harvest. But this is not all. The Victorian age was itself preceded by a European war, which smouldered and blazed for more than twenty years. Nor can we say that the evils of our civilization are greater than they were in the forties. The elder statesmen of the picture had just been carrying through the opium war, Lord Shaftesbury was still in the heart of his crusade, and the East India Company was conquering India in the interests of trade. The difference between the spirit of the picture and of this volume is really due, as all real conviction of sin is due, to the rise of a new moral ideal. Is our civil-

ization according to the mind of Christ ? In that new and searching light things that were tolerable and even commonplace become unendurable. Criticism of the kind we meet throughout this volume has really a new hope for mankind behind it. It has, further, a new faith in its heart. Whenever men think evils inevitable they instinctively protect themselves by either denying or ignoring the facts. But the moment that fuller life begins to stir in an age it manifests itself at first as conviction of sin. It is the necessary stage that must precede struggle and victory. True conviction of sin does not drive men and women from God, but leads them to Him, and the noble series of addresses which close this volume have in them the tremor of a coming tide.

DAVID S. CAIRNS

ABERDEEN

THE EARLY CHURCH AND MODERN MISSIONS

THE MIND OF THE EARLY CONVERTS. By CAMPBELL N. MOODY. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 15s. net. 1920.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND MODERN INDIA. By GODFREY E. PHILLIPS. London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. net. 1920.

HISTORICAL students are shy of parallels, and rightly shy. It is easy and superficial to compare features in the past and the present. There are popular histories nowadays, written by novelists and journalists, which aim at being vital by reading back modern ideas into the ancient world, very much on the lines of Peer Gynt:

> In short, I will skim off the cream of history,—
> I must try to get hold of a volume of Becker,
> And travel as far as I can by chronology.
> It's true, my grounding's by no means thorough,
> And history's wheels within wheels are deceptive;—
> But pooh, the wilder the starting-point,
> The result will oft be the more original.

Yet originality won by a presentation of clever solecisms is a vain show. The two books before us, however, are well grounded; their authors know both the past and the present, and their point of view deserves careful attention not only from people interested in missions but from students of early church history. The thesis of both is that the conditions of thought and life in the early Church, as it

worked out its mission in the Roman Empire, are often remarkably the same as the conditions to-day. Mr Moody has his eye mainly upon Chinese missions; Mr Phillips writes in close touch with the Christian enterprise in India. Mr Moody uses modern missions in order to throw light upon the theology of the apostolic fathers and the early apologists down to Origen; Mr Phillips sketches the early Church in order to derive lessons for the guidance of Indian Christianity. But their outlook is common. It is by no means new; Dr Warneck has employed the method already, and Dr T. M. Lindsay used it to elucidate the early ministry and organization of the Church. Yet it is capable of still further application, and these two volumes indicate its possibilities. Mr Phillips' handbook is, like Dr H. A. A. Kennedy's recent monograph upon *Vital Forces of the Early Church*, both fresh and scholarly. Mr Moody's is a welcome contribution to the study of the early apologetic of the Church, a penetrating and suggestive discussion of the interpretation of Christianity by the leading authors of the second century.

It is doubly difficult to review books of this kind. Only one who is acquainted at first-hand with the missionary situation can deal competently with the practical inferences which are drawn, and, to discuss adequately a treatise like Mr Moody's, would require a technical appreciation of the apologists and their theology. Mr Phillips offers us a readable sketch of the salient features in the early Church, believing that the problems raised are in many respects essentially the same as those encountered to-day in India, but he is careful to disclaim any desire to reproduce slavishly the conditions of the primitive Church. India, he insists, must make her indigenous forms for Christian thought and life. Thus he writes: 'There can be no tampering with facts to make an Indian gospel. But true Indian bhakti towards that same Jesus Christ will find Indian ways of expressing itself, will create customs whose appearance may be half Hindu, but whose meaning is wholly Christian, and will give rise to activities more akin to the brooding spirit of the East than to the bustling energy of the West.' Still, in the handling of questions like circumcision, in the practical solution of problems like unity, in the efforts to relate the Gospel to current ideals and instincts, he rightly finds suggestions for the task of Christianity in modern India. One interesting point is that Mohammedans to-day in India represent what the Jews were to the primitive Christian Church (pp. 12, 45). Another parallel is that between Gnosticism and modern theosophic

movements in Indian thought. Mr Phillips evidently sympathizes more with men of Clement's type than of Tertullian's. Yet Tertullian was more than a 'fierce controversialist.' His moral intensity and his speculative theology might have something still for Indian Christianity.

The pages upon caste and economic difficulties are specially useful to a western observer. Mr Phillips does not devote himself mainly to early Christian theology, but he does remark, in connexion with Hermas, that 'his legalistic views of religion are sometimes echoed among us, and the idea of merit is too firmly rooted in India for us to escape from it with ease.' I wish he had developed this remark. The religious value of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith lies in its repudiation of the merit-notion, which is so deeply rooted in the natural man, Indian or Western. And the natural man is Catholic; the Catholic theology of merit suits him. The experiences of an Indian missionary in contact with merit, and also—to name another point—with the indifference of some Easterns to history, would be illuminating.

Mr Moody plunges into such problems. His book is an attempt to show that the rise of the early Catholic Church meant a very imperfect appreciation of the New Testament gospel, and that the notions current in writers like Ignatius and Hermas and Origen reflect the same attitude to the Gospel as that of many Chinese converts to-day. In short, he challenges the academic view that 'Catholicism' was the result of specifically Greek factors. 'The fundamental characteristics of "Catholic" thought are not due to any influence that is specifically Greek, or specifically Roman, or generically Western. From the first there is present a tendency which cannot be described as national, or racial, or, without qualifications, Pagan. Sohm has well said that "the natural man is a born Catholic." To this an important supplement must be made: the spiritual man in his infancy is a Catholic too.' Mr Moody analyzes the leading interpretations of the faith from Clement of Rome onwards, doing justice to their various contributions, and yet pointing out that none is adequate to the New Testament revelation of the Gospel. The Church throve, in an age of brave martyrs and earnest leaders, an age of missionary expansion. Yett he Gospel which was assimilated was in many respects far below the New Testament message. And so, he admits, in modern China. Repeatedly he calls attention to the parallel between then and now. Do the apologists bring out

Christ the Revealer more than the Redeemer? Well, 'so Chinese Christians, when they are on their guard, say that Christ bore our sins; but when they are off their guard they frequently say that He came to teach us about God, or how to worship God.' Or take Justin Martyr's delineation of the Christian life. 'When we consider how modern converts throw off gambling, lusts, and opium-smoking through enlightenment and prayer, without passing through any definite religious experience, or being conscious of the love of Christ as a transforming power, we recognize that Justin's view corresponds to facts so far as such Christians can analyze them.'

Mr Moody's book leaves us wondering. From its pages we pick up hints for the historical study of the second century writers; he has thrown fresh light upon several problems of interpretation, and scholars will hail his independent, thorough discussion. But practically what is the issue? He faces it in the brief, too brief, closing remarks. We are to wonder at the richness of the New Testament revelation, as we see it contrasted with the second and the twentieth century attempts to reproduce it. And, Mr Moody suggests, we are to recognize that the historical Jesus is not supreme in East or in West, even among those who are truly Christians. 'Even the most evangelical have often legal minds.' Can they develop beyond such legalism? Mr Moody, we may assume, hopes that they will. Here and there individuals do, like Ignatius and Pastor Hsi and Brother Ba. But I wish Mr Moody had gathered up the results of his frank and patient inquiry; I wish he had drawn some practical deductions, instead of modestly leaving 'the reader to make his own inferences.' It bears, as he admits, on more than missions; it is related to the psychology of education in Christianity. 'Is it the duty of the teacher to begin with the Heathen and the child by teaching them to "fear God and keep His commandments"? Manifestly this is the gospel most easily assimilated, the only gospel easily assimilated by the early Christians and by multitudes of Christians on the modern mission field.' One service of Mr Moody's stimulating and candid volume is that it forces us to raise and face this question: Do Christians pass through an earlier stage of Law before they can appreciate the Gospel? and what can we do to prevent them from settling down upon an evangelical legalism?

JAMES MOFFATT

GLASGOW

INDIAN RITUALISM

THE RITES OF THE TWICE-BORN ('The Religious Quest of India' Series). By MRS SINCLAIR STEVENSON, M.A., Sc.D. With Foreword by Professor A. A. Macdonell. London: Oxford University Press. 21s. net. 1920.

To be a first-rate anthropologist undoubtedly lies within the province of one who is both a missionary and a woman. But the missionary must deal objectively with the alien faith that it is desired ultimately to modify. Not only must the facts be reported fairly, but the values bound up with the facts must be represented as they appeal to the alien folk concerned. Thus the missionary who plays the anthropologist must work in logic-tight compartments, first constructing a text as it were, and only in the second place appending a commentary in the way of destructive criticism. On the other hand, one who has not some religion is not likely to enter into the spirit of any religion. Hence, in regard to the anthropology of religion, some of the very best authorities have proved to be religious teachers who at the same time were naturally or by education capable of a sustained effort of scientific impartiality. Again, a woman anthropologist, as we are coming to realize better every day, has a great chance, perhaps the best chance offered to her sex within the whole circle of the sciences, of carrying out research of importance. For, after all, anthropology is the science of man and woman; and the mere male is not privileged to obtain an inside view of the woman's side of life, more especially among primitive peoples who are apt to make short work of a 'peeping Tom.'

Now any one who judges Mrs Stevenson's book from an anthropological standpoint must congratulate her on the objectivity of her treatment. She has so successfully dissociated her personality that the missionary in her mental make-up never interferes with the doctor of science. Dealing with the religious life of a Brahman in its ritual rather than its doctrinal aspect, she has collected and classified a mass of ceremonies which, instinct as they largely are with very primitive principles, will deeply interest every student of the historical origins of religion. Meanwhile, she has enjoyed as a woman the frankest intercourse with the Indian women, 'who welcomed the writer so prettily into their homes and confided to her their domestic rites—the fifth Veda, as the Brahmans call it,

of the woman's knowledge.' On the other hand, the masculine point of view was not withheld from her, since three Brahman pandits have carefully checked every piece of her information. Altogether, one can be satisfied that this is a thoroughly sound and scientific contribution to the science of comparative religion; and, though it perhaps hardly becomes the layman to pronounce on such matters, the religious reform at which the missionary aims depends for its success not on sympathy alone but on a sympathy reinforced by knowledge.

It is unfortunately impossible in a short notice to do justice in detail to the multitude of ceremonial practices that constitute for the Brahman the Way of Works, as distinguished from the Way of Faith and Devotion and the Way of Knowledge. It is the path which the simpler folk among the Twice-Born, including the women, are for the most part content to tread; and it is here especially that primitive elements survive in accordance with the law that ritual precedes dogma in the evolution of religious experience. Only by reflexion does M. Jourdain discover that he has been talking prose. So India finds itself practising primaeval customs, the meaning of which is but now becoming clear to the relatively few thinkers versed in the history of religion. And just as self-consciousness may be expected in the long run to improve M. Jourdain's literary style, so self-criticism must sooner or later purge Hinduism of much of the dross that is at present mixed up with the gold. In all religions, however, reform is hampered by the tendency to conserve the traditional machinery of forms at all costs, a tendency due to the ritualistic fallacy of imputing efficacy to the letter rather than to the spirit. Hence the allegorizing method and similar devices for retaining the old bottles while yet indulging in the luxury of new wine. Up to a point such methods are surely quite legitimate. A higher meaning for what is outwardly the same symbol can be successfully substituted, so long as that symbol proves naturally capable of sustaining the new interpretation. But many symbolic practices are in themselves gross and demoralizing; and—to use the language of the psycho-analysts—no amount of 'rationalization' is able to bring about their 'sublimation.' In other words, they cannot be made to suggest something edifying, but on the contrary tend to awaken impulses that belong to the purely animal and suppressed side of civilized human nature. The phallic observances of India provide a case in point. Mrs Stevenson, on the other hand,

describes numerous rites the symbolism of which is innocent and even charming; and on such as these the reformer has no need to lay a desecrating hand, even if—as indeed rarely happens—they be not strictly analogous to the ritual forms to which he is accustomed.

It is, however, hardly the part of an anthropologist to draw any practical moral from this admirable monograph. His business is to refer the thousand and one features of the Brahman's religious routine to more or less remote origins such as are discoverable by a comparison with the most rudimentary of the known religions of mankind. But such backward-looking interpretations are not inconsistent with, nor ought they in any way to prejudice, the forward-looking interpretations of the religious reformer whose standpoint is not Origin but Validity—not historical derivation but adaptability to some ideal purpose. Mrs Stevenson's book is so well contrived that it can help both anthropologist and missionary along their several paths towards the one ultimate truth.

R. R. Marett

Oxford

A STUDY OF THE BA-ILA

The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. By Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale. 2 Vols. London: Macmillan. 50s. 1920.

This capital book is a complete and scientific study of a group of Bantu tribes dwelling in the Kafue valley and speaking the Ila language. It is exactly what ethnographical science wants now. We already possess a fair number of monographs dealing with Central and South African tribes, the Ba-Ganda, the Masai, the Akamba, the Ba-Thonga and others having been already studied by several writers. Smith's conscientious and thorough description of the Ba-Ila is a most welcome addition. It will go a long way to aid ethnographers of the future to find out the general principles of life and of thought among the interesting part of mankind known as Bantu, in this way contributing to the building up of Bantu science.

The first volume deals with the land where these people live—the fertile Kafue valley—their traditions about the past, their physical characteristics and their ornaments (amongst others the 'Isusu,' the extraordinary coiffure, thirteen feet and ten inches high, peculiar

to the Ba-Ila), and the custom of knocking out the upper incisors. Excellent photographs of real scientific value illustrate this and other subjects. Then it describes the village, circular like every genuine Bantu construction, and the hut; the domestic, agricultural and pastoral life; and handicrafts, amongst which iron smelting plays a prominent part. Then follows a minute and exhaustive explanation of the medical art, which, as it is essentially magical, might have been better introduced when treating of dynamism. The chapters that follow are devoted to the social organization: the family, which is ruled by the father, the totemistic clan, which is composed of the relatives on the mother's side, and the communities, wider social groups, chiefly local, which may contain members of various families and clans. This system is very different from the organization which prevails farther south.

Volume II will prove even more interesting to students of primitive religion, as it describes the mental and moral life of the tribes with a marvellous wealth of detail. One of the chapters deals with the relation of the sexes, a subject in which Mr Smith recognizes that there is much that is unpleasant, but which is very important and ought not to be omitted, if we want really to know native life. May I venture to express the opinion that it would have been better to collect at the end of the volume all the data written in Latin?

According to the author, the Ba-Ila possess three sets of beliefs, we might say three layers placed upon each other: that of dynamism in relation with impersonal forces of nature, that of animism proper which expresses itself in ancestrolatry and in the manifold forms of spirit worship, and, last not least, a kind of monotheistic belief in a personal God named Leza. This is very much what we find amongst all the Bantu tribes. Mr Smith has tried to analyze all these religious manifestations and he has penetrated very deeply into the soul of the people. His insight and sympathy are shown in his frequent and lengthy quotations of their own expressions and in his avoidance of hasty conclusions. He seems inclined to think that the higher beliefs have evolved from the lower dynamistic ones, but on this very important controversial point he is satisfied with stating that he considers this development to be a logical and not necessarily an historical one. I believe it is only wise not to decide on this question of origin as long as we do not possess more information from other Bantu tribes for the purpose of comparison. It is curious to note how much social conditions deeply affect the theology of the

various Bantu groups. Since amongst the Ba-Ila there exist communities in their social organization, wider than and different from the family and from the clan, we meet with communal divinities besides the ancestor gods of the family and of the clan. On the other hand, amongst southern tribes, where these communities are absent, ancestor worship alone, under its typical form, is met with. This shows how important is the knowledge of social conditions when dealing with Bantu religion. We may hope that in the future a more complete comparative study of Bantu sociology will allow us to guess what were the conditions amongst the primitive or Ur-Bantu ; some light will perhaps be thrown then on the problem of their ancient beliefs and on the evolution they have undergone up to the present time. As a step towards the fuller understanding of Bantu life, the author's thorough study of one peculiar tribe is of immense value, and we only hope that the example of Mr Smith will be followed by many of his colleagues in the Bantu field.

I regret that the musical system of the Ba-Ila has not been explained in the chapter devoted to music. This is the only important subject I have missed in this book. I have also been surprised not to find any mention of the rites connected with the foundation or the removal of the village. There is a description of the religious ceremonies performed on that occasion (II, p. 178) ; but I wonder if the Ba-Ila like other tribes do not observe customs belonging to the category of the rites of passage when removing their villages.

Mr Smith's aim has been purely scientific. He has admirably described the tribe as it is. We hope that later on he may draw some practical conclusions as regards the methods Christian missions ought to follow in dealing with these people ; there is no doubt that the intimate knowledge he has acquired of their ways and beliefs would give great authority to his suggestions on the matter. I recommend the chapter on the Ba-Ila language to all our colleagues working amongst the Bantu. Mr Smith has been introduced to the system of Bantu phonetics by Meinhof's works and by the teaching of M. Jacottet, whom the Basutoland Mission had the great sorrow of losing lately. Mr Smith has successfully applied these laws to the Ila idiom, as ought to be done for each separate language which we want to master thoroughly.

HENRI A. JUNOD

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FOLKLORE AND CUSTOMS IN NIGERIA AND THE GOLD COAST

Among the Ibos of Nigeria. By G. T. Basden. With Map and Illustrations. London: Seeley Service. 25s. net. 1920.

The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast: Their Customs, Religion and Folklore. By A. T. Cardinall. With Map and Illustrations. London: Routledge. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.

When we turn from Central and Southern Africa, with their wonderful uniformity of language (even though this does not imply uniformity of race) to the Niger basin, we are confronted by a bewildering diversity. Leaving aside all questions of race-relationships, the languages alone will occupy philologists for generations to come, and though Dr Westermann and Professor Meinhof have supplied some guiding threads through the chaos prudently left unclassified by F. Müller, the matter is not quite so simple as readers of *Die Sudansprachen* at first hoped it would prove to be. It seems clear, at any rate, that there is one distinct family of languages, of a monosyllabic, uninflected type, which includes, among others, Ewe, Ga, Tshi, Yomba and Ibo. Westermann and others have traced root-resemblances between these and the Bantu language family; but the relationship, if it exists, must be a very remote one. Without discussing any linguistic theories, I may now remark, that, many years ago, when examining for the first time some specimens of the Ibo language, I was greatly perplexed by curious resemblances to Bantu words, and did not know whether to regard it as a primitive speech, which was fundamentally related to Bantu but had not yet acquired any grammatical inflections, or a Bantu language which had shed its inflections and reduced all its words, by phonetic corruption, to one syllable.

The Ibo people, of whom Mr Basden has given such a full and interesting account, are among those who have been longest in contact with European influence. Influence of the worst sort, we may add, when we remember what a large proportion of the slaves exported to the West Indies, ever since Sir John Hawkins began the traffic, were Ibos. There are, at this day, many of them to be found in Jamaica, and stray words of the language handed down from their ancestors still survive among them.

It has been remarked on previous occasions that the folklore of the two groups of peoples which are linguistically so distinct has

a great deal in common, any marked differences being probably accounted for by local circumstances. This is well illustrated by the stories which Mr Basden has collected, and of which we wish he could have given us a few more. Some of them have a more distinct literary form than one expects to find in African oral folk-lore; in fact they resemble our familiar Aesopian fable in their conciseness and deliberately formulated moral. This may possibly be due to their having taken shape in the hands of educated native teachers, and suggests interesting reflections as to the development of a genuine native literature. Others are old friends not very much disguised. We find the frog challenging the 'deer' (one has to take the zoological nomenclature as one finds it) to a race, and winning by planting out his relations all along the course; it is the tortoise, as a rule, who does this in Africa, as the hedgehog does in Europe. In other cases, the tortoise plays the part of the 'clever one,' as he does in Bantu tales (where he is usually too much, in the end, even for 'Brer Rabbit'); but there are two or three remarkable points to notice. More than once he is represented as over-reaching himself and coming to a bad end (he gets a worse character, by the by, for gratuitous, cold-blooded cruelty, than I remember elsewhere), which is rarely, if ever, the case in Bantu stories. Then it is he, and not the hare, who, like Hlakanyana in the Zulu tale, makes the leg-bone of his victim (in this case the fowl) into a flute, is robbed of his instrument and gets it back again. Another well-known adventure is that where the hare frightens away the people from their cultivation and feasts on the crops: the Ibo hare works the trick in partnership with the tortoise, and—with a characteristic touch of local colour—the market, not the fields, is the scene of their operations. Then we have the well-known 'tug of war' story, where the tortoise sets two powerful animals (this time, the buffalo and the elephant) to pull against each other, under the impression that they are pulling against him. It does not always end tragically; but here, the two, being of equal strength, go on pulling till both die of exhaustion. The tortoise, rejoicing over this abundant provision of meat, hastens to cut it up; but hearing some people coming, and, in his agitation, thinking he is going to be baulked of his prey, he trips, falls on his own knife and so kills himself.

We should have been glad to compare these with some of the folk-tales from the little-known Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, of whom Mr Cardinall has given such an interesting account.

But though we have, in his first chapter, some very interesting tribal traditions, he has not printed any tales of the kind we have referred to in the case of the Ibos. This is the more to be regretted, because we have been unable to see the valuable collections made by Dr Fisch, which were to have been published in the *Transactions* of the Berlin Oriental Seminary for 1913 or 1914, but possibly have not yet appeared.

The people of these Northern Territories seem to be a congeries of tribes speaking languages of which Moshi may be taken as typical. One of these tribes, the Dagbamba (or 'Dagomba') extends east of the White Volta, into the territory of Togo, and it is of their language that Dr Fisch has written an excellent grammar.[1] Other branches of the family—for the tribes seem to be related to each other to begin with—are Nankanni, Talansi, Builsa, etc.

Mr Cardinall's account of their religion and customs is exceedingly interesting, though we could wish it fuller. The institution of the *tindana*, or 'owner of the land,' is very remarkable. He belongs to the tribe who, as far as anyone knows, first occupied the country, and when this tribe has been conquered by outsiders, the chiefs of the latter, however powerful in other respects, have no rights over the land—e.g. cannot give permission to a stranger to settle, without the consent of the *tindana*. This is because the latter knows, or is known to, the 'earth-gods,'—the spirits of the land, of whom each community has at least one. One is inclined to think that these must be, originally, like the Nyasaland 'old gods of the land,' the spirits of former tribal heads, and that the *tindana* knows them by right of his descent from them.

There is much in this book calling for careful discussion, which would take us beyond the boundaries of our immediate subject, even if they could be treated within the limits of our space. One of the few folk-tales given is a very curious example either of the same idea occurring independently in different parts of the world, or of the very remote echo of an Indian story (the one given by M. Junod, from Delagoa Bay, under the title 'Les Trois Vaisseaux'), applied by the Kassena to the purposes of their mythology.

A. Werner

London

[1] Vol. xiv of *Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen*. Berlin, 1912.

AMONG TRIBESMEN IN CHINA

In Unknown China. By S. Pollard. London: Seeley Service. 25s. net. 1920.

The writer of this book is a missionary, but he appears to be at the same time an ardent adventurer and looks at his subject more from a human than a professional point of view. A keen sense of humour ripples over his pages, and the book opens with a lively description of the dilemma in which he is placed by being offered a dusky bride of an aboriginal tribe; he cannot wed, but to refuse he is afraid! Perhaps it is hardly fair to say he is afraid, for a violent death appears to have no terrors for him; he might almost be said to court it by the way in which he ignores all warnings; but evidently the refusal would place him in a position of great embarrassment.

The book gives a vivid picture of some of the aboriginal tribes in Western China, especially the Nosu and their fierce customs and relentless feuds. The open-air life and simple conditions in which they live render the mountain tribesmen thoroughly virile; so much so, in fact, that Mr Pollard advocates at the close of the volume that their Chinese overlords should turn this menace into a protective shield by enlisting the tribesmen for cavalry, a branch of the army which certainly needs strengthening. It seems strange to read such advice from a missionary, but perhaps it is merely suggested as a *pis aller* out of a permanently dangerous situation. These native races he describes as being always pushed further and further back by the Chinese, and consequently always at feud with them. They are intensely hated and despised, partly, it must be admitted, on moral grounds; consequently intermarriage is rare and the centuries pass without any healing of the breach. The writer makes some interesting comments on the mixture of races; but it seems to me more like the mixture of oil and water. 'The traveller sees a wonderful example of the patient way—the wise way in which China has solved a problem which some European and American Christian peoples fail entirely to solve. . . . As soon as China conquers a people she gives to them, on the same terms, all the privileges which her own sons possess.' As a proof of this, he tells how a Nosu became one of the most powerful viceroys in Western China, so that some of the members of the first parliament were duly elected tribesmen from the west. What really seems

the only practical way for enabling such different races to live harmoniously together is the civilizing and uplifting of all of them by religion and education. The aborigines are essentially children of nature : they are wholly unadapted to town life ; but it has been amply proved that they can become peaceful members of society and develop intellectually and morally.

The ethnographical side of the book is slight, and it is to be regretted that the writer gives no authority for his classification of all aboriginal tribes into three groups : Nosu, Miao and Shan ; he fails to state clearly that the Nosu are the Lolos of earlier writers. He bases the grouping on similarity of customs and evidence furnished by the languages spoken. Having been among a certain number of tribes in the provinces of Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichou, I should have thought that physical differences were a most important factor. Certainly the racial differences are fully as remarkable as the linguistic, but unfortunately practically nothing has as yet been done in the way of anthropological research.

The progress of Christianity is not much emphasized in the book but may be guessed from scattered passages. It would certainly interest people to know that Chinese is being taught in mission schools to the tribes-people, which will bring them into closer touch with the Chinese and prevent some misunderstandings. The message for which Mr Pollard is in China as a missionary is Peace, and workers among the tribesmen tell me that Chinese magistrates have remarked on the fact that since the coming of missionaries there has been less trouble caused by the tribesmen in their districts. In the new China now emerging it is impossible that the aboriginal tribes should continue their present relations with the Chinese, and no greater service can be done by the missionaries than to help the warring races to a better understanding. However, no doubt the writer's main object is to interest the general public in a little known part of China and its inhabitants, and no one can fail to find the book interesting who cares for such subjects.

The account of the manuscripts of the Nosu is similar in certain respects with what I learnt of the writing of certain tribes in Kweichou, but the ideographs of the latter are not so simple as those of the Nosu, and are more like the Chinese character ; some are practically the same as the Chinese script three thousand years ago.

The illustrations of the book are remarkably good, but it is unfortunate that the gay colours of the dresses and the lovely subtle

colouring of the scenery cannot be shown. It is only the traveller who knows the country to whom the illustrations, however accurate, can reproduce the scene, and photography can never adequately give the height and grandeur of the mountains.

E. G. KEMP

LONDON

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. By LAJPAT RAI. London: Allen & Unwin. 6s. net. 1920.

MR LAJPAT RAI, the son of an Indian teacher, was himself for about twenty-five years manager of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore. For India's sake he has made an earnest study of education both in India and other lands, for he believes true education to be India's most vital need. What he has learned in other lands is applied to India's needs in very illuminating fashion in the book before us. No reader can fail to be struck by the honesty and fairness, the wisdom and courage, and the passionate love of India which animate the writer. He is clearly a lover of India, but not a hater of other lands. And all who are interested in the future of India will find the book valuable. The chapters on the teaching of patriotism are particularly important for all Europeans working in India. The author is perhaps scarcely fair to the financial difficulties that have faced Government in its efforts to promote education in India; but, on the other hand, if Government had recognized that education was India's most urgent need, no doubt much more and much better work could have been done.

To quote some of the author's dicta may be the best way of showing the value of the book, and inducing those concerned with India's future to read it for themselves.

'The general prevailing idea of life in India is that it is a necessary evil. . . . The first aim of a national system of education should be to destroy this belief.' 'What India needs is an earnest, widely spread, persistent effort to teach the gospel of life.'

'It is my desire to impress upon my countrymen, with all the earnestness I possess and with all the emphasis I can lay, the absolute desirability of giving up the antiquated idea of bringing up boys and girls in an atmosphere of isolation. Boys and girls should be treated more as comrades rather than as dependants and inferiors and subordinates. We should extend to them our fullest confidence and encourage absolute frankness in them. Instead of

keeping the sexes separate, we should bring them together. In my judgment greater harm is done by keeping them apart than by bringing them together. I know I am treading on delicate ground. Prejudice and sentiment, accumulated by centuries of restricted life, is all against it. The thing will come by degrees. But come it must and come it will.'

'It will be so much waste of energy not to profit by the experience of other peoples.'

'Growth in freedom is the test of progress. . . . Freedom here is not the opposite of physical slavery, but also freedom as far as possible from the bondage of desires and environments.' 'Our people require to be assiduously and persistently taught that there is no such thing as Kismet, and that Karma is always controllable and manageable by one's own efforts, as well as by changes in one's social environments.'

'A people constantly belittled by foreigners, as well as by their own leaders, get no chance of cultivating the necessary qualities of self-respect and self-confidence.'

'We have no reason to be ashamed of our past. On the contrary, we have every reason to be proud of it. But that does not mean that our ancestors have spoken the last word on every conceivable subject.'

Mr Lajpat Rai recognizes to the full that the real wealth of a country lies in its people, and that they first and foremost need cultivation, and the poverty of the masses weighs heavily on him. In his attitude on this matter he is ahead of many of our own statesmen and the great majority of our daily newspapers.

He believes that any scheme of national education in India must include the active teaching of patriotism and nationalism as a regular subject of study. Love of India as a whole must be taught, though not the aggressive nationalism that teaches hatred of other lands. He points out acutely that whilst he respects cosmopolitanism in an Englishman or an American, in a Chinaman or a Hindu 'it will be time enough to become cosmopolitan after they have cultivated patriotism and raised their respective countries to the level of other independent, self-conscious, self-respecting nations.'

There is a powerful and much needed chapter on physical education and large questions are discussed such as the need for and the type of industrial training required, and the creation of an All-India educational scheme.

The book will well repay study, and will introduce to the reader a great leader and a noble and fearless lover of India.

A. G. Fraser

Kandy, Ceylon

THE MISSIONARY PREACHING OF ST PAUL

Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus. By D. Albrecht Oepke. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. M. 15. 1920.

One cannot fail to be impressed by the eagerness and industry with which the author sets out on his task, and if the expectations of the reader are roused to a higher pitch than he is able to satisfy, it is not that he is lacking either in courage or energy. The subject is elusive. The author has constantly to discuss how much he may reasonably include. And even that must largely be decided by subjective impressions. There are really no clear criteria by which the method can be fixed. But from beginning to end we feel we are in the hands of one who has thoroughly surveyed the field and is well acquainted with the important discussions that have been carried on in it.

Dr Oepke is peculiarly successful in his treatment of the environment with which the apostle had to deal. The first chapter is a model of compressed and yet accurate statement. He is fully in touch with the literature of the subject and preserves the right proportions in estimating it. Occasionally, as in the earlier part of chapter ii, he seems to spend too much pains on detailed words and phrases. We think that more is to be gained by the broader type of treatment. A particularly interesting discussion is that of the propædeutic of Paul's missionary preaching (p. 64 ff). 'The Pauline propædeutic is essentially awakening of the conscience and of the consciousness of God, the one in the other and through the other' (p. 104). Oepke compares Paul's propædeutic with that of Jesus and illustrates both from Hellenistic mysticism as found in Poimandres. But there is a good deal to be said for the passages he quotes being echoes of Paulinism.

The author attempts to draw a clear distinction between Paul's missionary preaching to Jews and Gentiles. This he illustrates at length with reference to the Cross. Here he emphasizes the conception of the expiating power of suffering; the sacrificial character of the crucifixion; the proofs to be drawn from the Old Testament. These were the lines along which he approached his fellow-countrymen. He found other ways of access to heathen hearts. He could count on the tendencies to hero-worship among the Greeks. Moreover, modern investigation of religions has revealed vague yearnings for redemption among heathen peoples, parallel in some ways to the

Messianic hope of Judaism. 'It was from the missionary point of view of great significance that the new Christian religion wrote a word on its banners, namely σωτήρ 'in which the deepest yearning of humanity for centuries could be summed up' (p. 125). And then he could appeal to an historical life. His own experience was that of the holy love of God made manifest in the surrender of His Son. Here he was able to get beyond all mythology. Oepke shows how the earthly life of Jesus shines through Paul's letters. He does not think we can prove stages of development in Paul's missionary preaching. For such a view he finds no basis either in Gal. v. 11 or 2 Cor. v. 16. But he does discern a renewed concentration on the Cross in 1 Cor. ii. 2.

We have no space in which to examine the careful and well-balanced discussion of the material presented by the Acts of the Apostles. This material is of course less direct than that of the Epistles. But its historical fidelity is of a high order.

Our author finds the Pauline missionary preaching summed up above all else in the solemn appeal, 'Be reconciled with God.' From first to last there stands for the apostle in the centre 'that personal fellowship with God, fundamentally restored in the forgiveness of sins, mediated by the historical revelation of God' (p. 213).

The book is a little confusing to read. More subdivisions would have been a great advantage. Some help is given by the careful page-headings. There are useful indexes, both of passages and subjects. The series of *Mission-wissenschaftliche Forschungen* of which this forms a volume promises to be exceedingly valuable.

H. A. A. Kennedy

Edinburgh

SHORTER NOTICES

Deutsches Kolonial-Lexicon. Herausgegeben von Dr Heinrich Schnee. 3 Bände. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meier. 1920.) This trustworthy work of reference was practically completed before the outbreak of the world war. It has been prepared with the industry characteristic of German scholarship, and has in view the double end of scientific thoroughness and practical utility, being designed to give a rapid and reliable introduction into all the problems of colonial life. In spite of considerable hesitation the publisher and the editor decided to issue the book even after the crumbling of the German colonial enterprise. It presents a balanced account of what had

been achieved by the Germans in their colonies up to the outbreak of war. The article on Protestant missions is by Professor Mirbt of Göttingen and that on Roman Catholic missions by Professor Schmidlin of Münster. Similarly in the other spheres the most noted experts have contributed of their best. The articles on ethnology by G. Thilenius, on Islam by C. H. Becker, on philology by C. Meinhof, are specially worthy of note. Thoroughly trustworthy information on questions of law, economics and tropical medicine is to be found in this book, which is also beautifully produced with numerous maps and pictures. It is thus an indispensable handbook for all who are in any way concerned, either from a practical or scientific point of view, with the former German colonies. It may also help to form a just estimate of German colonial enterprise.

The League of Nations Starts. An Outline by its Organizers. (London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net. 1920.) The visionary enthusiasm that hailed the birth of the League of Nations has been inevitably succeeded by a widespread reaction, marked by doubt and even scepticism. The issue of this book should mark the inauguration of the third stage of assurance and hope, based on knowledge of the facts. The League is at work in the world—this is the central idea of these essays, projected through a calm, dispassionate statement of what the League is and does. The machinery, organization and growth of the League are outlined; the relations between the Council and Assembly and their functions and responsibilities are elucidated; the outstanding problems with which they have to deal are discussed. The prevention of war is declared to be 'the one great object of the whole organization.' While the bulk of the book is devoted to the development of the League since it was proposed and set up by the Treaty of Versailles, the historical survey is not limited to the short period that has elapsed since then, but notice is taken of the various forces in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that went to the formation of international sentiment. It is of interest to know that during the years 1908–11 four hundred international organizations were in being, almost all of which have survived the war and are more determined than ever to continue the work of world-wide co-operation. The changes effected in Europe by the Treaty of Versailles have caused the work of the League in 1920 to turn more actively round European than Asiatic affairs. Permeating its whole work, however, is the world

outlook and the international mind. The value and possibility of world co-operation is clearly illustrated in the chapter on International Labour Organization, where in the hopeful account of the Labour Conference at Washington with its two lessons—' first, the earnest desire of all parties to bring about better conditions, and secondly, the possibility of achieving success once they were all gathered round the same table, despite all the differences of language and of point of view '—mention is specially made of the prominent and creditable part played by Japan. The chapter particularly relevant to the subject matter of this Review is the one on Indirect International Supervision, where the question of mandates is discussed. Valuable in the light it sheds on the various types of mandates, and on the specific responsibilities and limitations imposed alike on the League, the Mandates Commission and the Mandatory Powers, the chapter is of especial value in its clear enunciation of the spirit underlying the idea of mandates. The other chapters deal with such subjects as international justice and armaments, the Saar Basin and Danzic, health and transportation, economics and finance, the reader being shown throughout incidentally but unmistakably the unsuspected strength of the international mind and the forces of co-operation and goodwill. The book, with its lucid account of the beginnings of the League, should be at hand for reference as its work unfolds.

A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediæval Judaism. By W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box. (London: S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.) Quite admirable, and indispensable to every student of post-biblical Judaism. After giving a short historical survey it considers at some length the Rabbinical literature, properly so called, including the Targums, the Midrashes or homiletical commentaries, and the two Talmuds with the literature closely connected with them. Then, in some sixty pages, follows a description of the Jewish liturgy, a part likely to be of very practical importance in the next few years. Lastly the mediæval literature is described, including the Qabbala. We heartily congratulate the authors upon their work, in which they have had hardly any predecessors.

Everybody's World. By Sherwood Eddy. British edition edited by Basil A. Yeaxlee. (London: R.T.S. 1920.) The author, who has

travelled in India, China, Japan and the Far East, the new Near East and Russia, sketches the forces that have gone to the making of these countries and the influences of the war-years upon them. To an Englishman it is interesting to see India through impartial eyes. The perilous political position of China is portrayed, and the sensitiveness of the people to Christianity; Japan is treated with candour and appreciation, but the author deals severely when he comes to Turkey, though even here criticism is tempered with kindness. Russia is touched on with the utmost sympathy and Bolshevism with scrupulous fairness; the interesting comparison of American and British mentality provides much food for thought. The book is not meant, however, to be merely a guide to contemporary history; it is written to show the hand of God in the modern world, to mark the signs of His appearing, as in India, China, Japan, even in the ravaged Near East He is entering in to take possession. If there be any on the mission field who are in danger of losing sight of the wood for the impenetrable trees, we would recommend this book with its implicit, invigorating message.

Character Building in Kashmir. By Rev. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe. (London: C.M.S. 3s. 1920.) It is refreshing to turn from the innumerable manuals published to-day on the principles and theory of education to this small, racily written book about a Kashmir school which educates in the fullest and best sense of the word. In ninety-five pages we are given a picture of the school twenty-nine years ago, when dirt was omnipresent, and honesty, courage, chivalry and *esprit de corps* were conspicuous by their absence; we see difficulties gradually being surmounted and opposition overcome, and we watch finally the uprising of a school whose muscular, chivalrous inmates are the terror of Srinagar's evil-doers, the defenders of the weak and helpless and an unceasing mystery to the caste-bound people of the district. To all who are trying to build up schools, not primarily of examinees but of citizens, and who are striving to make education a living force dominating the whole of life, we would recommend this book.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D., has been a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) since 1888. He is General Secretary of the Christian Literature Society of Japan.

The Rev. Edward Shillito, a well-known journalist, is Literary Director of the London Missionary Society.

The Rev. Henri Anet, Doctor of Social Sciences (Brussels University), is a pastor of the Belgian Church and General Secretary of the Société belge de Missions protestantes au Congo. He made an extensive survey of Protestant mission work in the Congo and is acting as 'agent de liaison' between Protestant missions and the Belgian Government.

Mr Edwyn Bevan, an Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford, and author of *The House of Seleucus*, *Indian Nationalism* and other books, is already well known to readers of this Review.

The Rev. H. A. Popley of the London Missionary Society went to India in 1901. He has been closely connected with the evangelistic movement in South India. The first part of his study of the Musical Heritage of India appeared in this Review in April 1920.

The Rev. Harlan P. Beach, D.D., formerly a missionary in China, is Professor of the Theory and Practice of Missions and Librarian of the School of Religion at Yale University, U.S.A.

The Rev. D. J. Fleming, Ph.D., formerly a professor in the Forman Christian College, Lahore, was a member of the commission

sent by the mission boards of America and Great Britain in 1919 to study educational conditions in Indian villages. Dr Fleming is on the staff of the Union Theological College, New York.

Dr Sherwood Eddy, whose evangelistic work in the East has been fruitful for many years, is one of the Associate General Secretaries for foreign work of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The writers of book reviews are Baron Friedrich von Hügel, author of several important works on historical criticism, psychology and philosophy ; the Rev. D. S. Cairns, D.D., Professor of Dogmatics and Apologetics at the United Free Church College, Aberdeen ; the Rev. James Moffatt, D.D., D.Litt., Professor of Church History in the United Free Church College, Glasgow ; Professor R. R. Marett, M.A., B.Sc., Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford ; the Rev. Henri A. Junod, a member of the Mission Romande working in Portuguese East Africa and a distinguished writer on African anthropology ; Miss Alice Werner, Reader in Swahili and other Bantu languages at the School of Oriental Studies, London ; Miss E. G. Kemp, associated with the Baptist Missionary Society, who has travelled in China ; the Rev. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy ; and the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology at New College, Edinburgh.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Missionsinspektor Lic. M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 304.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
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XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

I. History

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See also *151, 183, 184–6.*

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Mr Pollard's last book, 'In Unknown China,' is reviewed on p. 284.

MIT DER SEELE ERSCHAUT. Paulus Scharpff. 171 S. Nürnberg: J. Koezle. Geb. M. 10.80. 1920. *161.*
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III. The Home Base

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Wertvoller Vortrag von der letzten Tagung der Missions-Hilfe.

†BETEEKENIS DER ZENDINGSSTUDIE VOOR DE GEESTELIJKE ONTWIKKELING VAN DEN ONDERWIJZER. P. Oosterlee. MZW, 1920 (LXIV⁴), 289–306. *164.*

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IV. The Mission Fields

Japan

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†WESTERN INFLUENCE AND MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITY IN THE ORIENT. S. H. Wainright. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 161–73. *172.*

†WORLD'S SUNDAY SCHOOL CONVENTION, OCTOBER 1920. JE, 1920 (Nov.), 295–320. *173.*

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China

COMMERCIAL HANDBOOK OF CHINA. 2 vols. Julean Arnold. Illus. Maps 630. 470 pp. Washington: Government Printing Office. $1. 1919, 1920. *174.*
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†CHRISTIANITY AND THE MATERIAL ADVANCE OF CHINA. J. E. Baker. CR, 1920 (Dec.), 826–37. *175.*

†CHINA, 1919–1920. C. Fink. AMZ, 1920 (Oct.), 259–68. *176.*

†SOME PRESSING PROBLEMS IN CHINA. Hua-Chuen Mei. CR, 1920 (Nov.), 760–8. *177.*

Conditions in public life are stated, and young men are urged to face them fearlessly for their country's sake.

†China and the West. G. T. Orme. *Nineteenth Century*, 1920 (Jan.), 60–70. *178.*

†A Survey of Islam in China. F. H. Rhodes. MW, 1921 (Jan.), 53–68. *179.*
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Letters from China and Japan. John Dewey, Ph.D., LL.D., and Alice Chapman Dewey, edited by Evelyn Dewey. vi+311 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton. $2.50. 1920. *180.*

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†Läget på de svenska missionsfälten i Kina. Erik Folke. SMT, 1920 (6), 279–90. *184.*

†China, 1919–1920. Julius Richter. AMZ, 1920 (Nov.), 282–92; (Dez.), 306–15. *185.*

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Malay Archipelago

Through Central Borneo: An Account of Two Years' Travel in the Land of the Head Hunters between the Years 1913 and 1917. Carl Lumholtz. Vol. I. xix+242 pp. Vol. II. 243–467 pp. Map. Illus. London: Fisher Unwin. 42s. net. 1921. *187.*

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†Midden-Java ten Zuiden. Het Land en zijn Bewoners. D (Slot) D. Pol. *De Macedonier*, 1921 (XXV[1]), 9–19. *191.*

†Posso. W. Nitsch. EM, 1920, 113–23. *192.*

Peoples of the Philippines. A. L. Kroeber. Illus. Map. 224 pp. New York: American Museum of Natural History. $1. 1919. *193.*
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†Some Aspects of the Philippine Educational System. D. J. Fleming. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 249–59. *194.*

†Our Mandate over Moroland. O. Garfield Jones. MW, 1921 (Jan.), 29–43. *195.*

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Indo-China and Farther India

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†La Mission en Indo-Chine. P. Monet. *Journal des Missions Evangéliques*, 1920 (Oct.), 229–40. *197.*
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See also *291* (Religion).

British India and Ceylon

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Maharana Kumbha. Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L. x+95 pp. Ajmere: Scottish Press. Rs. 2. 1917. *198a.*
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Parsis of Ancient India. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala. xxvi+152 pp. London: Luzac. 9s. 1920. *199.*
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†THE MUSICAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. Part II. The Musical Heritage in Evangelism. H. A. Popley. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 223–35. *200.*

†INDIA OLD AND NEW. Sir Valentine Chirol. *The Times*, 1920 (Dec.), 23–30; 1921 (Jan.), 19, 21, 29; (Feb.), 7, 8, 18. *201.*

INDIAN HOME RULE. M. K. Gandhi. 136 pp. Madras: Ganesh. 1919. *201a.*
In this pamphlet the attitude of Mr Gandhi, the Indian political leader, to western civilization is revealed.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA. Part II. History under the Government of the Crown. P. E. Roberts. iv+211 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net. 1921. *202.*
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PAPERS RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DYARCHY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. Edited by Lionel Curtis. Map. lxi+606 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 31s. 6d. 1920. *203.*
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†THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL, 1920. Some Notes on the Seventh Annual Meeting. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Dec.), 716–23. *209.*

†THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL. HF, 1921 (Jan.), 6–22. *210.*

†MISSION WORK AMONG EDUCATED CLASSES IN INDIA. E. F. Brown. EW, 1921 (Jan.), 9–15. *211.*

†SOUTH INDIA MISSIONARY STATISTICS, 1919. H. Gulliford. HF, 1920 (Oct.), 385–90. *212.*

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Mohammedan Lands and Work among Moslems

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†THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH IN THE NEAR EAST. Sherwood Eddy. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 260–5. *218.*

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†ETUDE POLITIQUE, ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE SUR L'ANATOLIE OCCIDENTALE. L. Callinus. *Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Etudes Coloniales*, 1919 (Sept.–Oct. et Nov.–Déc.), 110 pp. *221.*
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ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL THE GREAT WAR (1914). Kevork Aslan, translated from the French by Pierre Crabitès. xxix+138 pp. New York: Macmillan. $1.20. 1920. *222.*

See also *152* (Biography); *303–6* (Religion).

Africa

(General)

See *326* (Government and Islam).

North Africa

(from Morocco to Somaliland)

PRÉCIS DE SOCIOLOGIE NORD-AFRICAINE (seconde partie). A. G. P. Martin. 260 pp. Paris: Leroux. 1920. *223.*
Donne d'abondants et minutieux détails sur les mœurs et coutumes, croyances religieuses, institutions sociales et familiales des musulmans —Sédentaires et Nomades—de l'Afrique du Nord.

†LA RACE BORBÈRE À TRAVERS L'HISTOIRE. Pierre Poujol. *Le Semeur,* 1920 (Nov.), 33–43. *224.*

†EN BLICK PÅ ABESSINIEN SOM MISSIONSFÄLT. J. Iwarson. SMT, 1920 (5), 238–40. *225.*

See also *153, 161* (Biography).

West Africa

(from the Senegal to the Cunene, including the West and Central Sudan)

THE NATIVES OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF THE GOLD COAST: THEIR CUSTOMS, RELIGIONS AND FOLKLORE. A. T. Cardinall. Map. Illus. xvi+158 pp. London: Routledge. 12s. 6d. 1920. *226.*
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†THE CONGO NATIVE AND BELGIAN ADMINISTRATION. Henri Anet. IRM, 1 21 (Apr.), 196–206. *227.*

†LES ASSOCIATIONS SECRÈTES AU CONGO.—LE NEBILI OU NEGBO. Ch. Delhaize-Arnould. *Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Etudes Coloniales,* 1919 (Mai–Juin), 283–90. *228.*

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East and Central Africa

(from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers)

THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (FORMERLY GERMAN EAST AFRICA). F. S. Joelson. Illus. Map. 256 pp. London: Fisher Unwin. 21s. 1920. *229.*
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†CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND AFRICAN LABOUR. J. H. Oldham. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 183–95. *230.*

†THE LABOUR PROBLEM OF NYASALAND. G. H. Wilson. EW, 1921 (Jan.), 27–38. *231.*

†NATIVE EDUCATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA. Africanus. *Journal of the African Society,* 1921 (Jan.), 95–100. *232.*

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SPECIMENS OF BANTU FOLK-LORE FROM NORTHERN RHODESIA. Texts (collected with the help of the Phonograph and English Translations). J. Torrend, S.J. With Musical Illustrations. 187 pp. London: Kegan Paul. New York: E. P. Dutton. 10s. 6d. net. 1921. *235.*
A review is in preparation.

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South Africa

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THE BLACK PROBLEM. Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems. D. D. T. Jabavu. 175 pp. South Africa, Lovedale. London: Friends' Bookshop, 140 Bishopsgate, E.C. 4s. 4d. net. 1920. *236.*
Contains speeches and addresses delivered by the African Professor of Bantu Languages at the South African Native College (Fort Hare, Cape Province) to his fellow-countrymen. Sane and worthy of careful study.

†NATIVE UNREST: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. D. D. T. Jabavu. *Christian Express,* 1920 (Oct.), 153–6; (Nov.), 169–71. *237.*
Included in No. *236.*

†DIE HOTTENTOTTEN EINST UND JETZT. Wandres. AMZ, 1920 (Okt.), 255–9; (Nov.), 275–82. *238.*

SÜDAFRIKA IM WELTKRIEGE. Seitz. III S. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) A. G. M. 10. *239.*
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See also *158* (Biography).

Madagascar and Mauritius

†L'ACTION SOCIALE DU CHRISTIANISME À MADAGASCAR. Ch. Koest. *Le Christianisme Social,* 1920 (Déc.), 715–20. *240.*

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America and the West Indies

DARKWATER. Voices from within the Veil. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. viii+276 pp. London: Constable. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *241.*
By a leader among American negroes. Full of power and passion. Of importance to all who are studying racial relations in America or elsewhere.

THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO. Robert T. Kerlin. 188 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton. $2.50. 1920. *242.*
A conspectus of recent views of the Afro-American press on racial questions.

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The Jews

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ZIONISM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. W. J. Couper. 22 pp. Glasgow: United Free Church of Scotland. 4d. 1920. *248.*
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See also *307–10* (Religion).

General

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR AGAINST WHITE WORLD-SUPREMACY. Lothrop Stoddard. Maps. xxxii+320 pp. London: Chapman & Hall. 12s. 6d. 1920. *250.*
A review is in preparation.

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FOUR PILGRIMS. William Boulting. viii+256 pp. London: Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *252.*
Studies of a Chinese Buddhist monk of the 7th century; a 12th-century English traveller to Palestine; a 14th-century Mohammedan who went several times to Mecca; and an Italian traveller of the Renaissance who was the first Christian to visit that city.

THE BACKWARD PEOPLES AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM. Sir Harry Johnston. Maps. 64 pp. London: Milford. 2s. 6d. 1920. *253.*

JEWELS FROM THE ORIENT. Lucy Seaman Bainbridge. Illus. 125 pp. New York and London: Fleming H. Revell. $1. 1920. *254.*
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†MISSIONSLÄGET I VÄRLDEN. G. W. Lindeberg. SMT, 1920 (6), 263–78. *255.*

†ALLMÄN SVENSK MISSIONSSTATISTIK FÖR ÅR 1919. Sigfrid Alm. SMT, 1920. *256.*

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VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

VÄRLDSMISSIONENS BIBLISKA GRUND. Ad. Kolmodin. 120 sid. Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag. Kr. 3.50. 1920. *257.*

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VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

THE HOME WITH THE OPEN DOOR. An Agency in Missionary Service. Mary Schauffler Platt. viii+61 pp. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. 1920. *261.*
Charming studies from real life, written for missionary wives and single women.

†THE PLACE OF THE MISSIONARY IN REFORMED INDIA. S. C. Mukerjee. *Young Men of India*, 1920 (Nov.), 648–55. *262.*

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VIII. Missionary Methods

Evangelistic

†DE BETEEKENIS VAN DEN INLANDSCHEN PREDIKANT VOOR DE INLANDSCHE KERKEN. D. Crommelin. MZW, 1920 (LXIV[4]), 327–35. *263.*

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China

†Normal Schools, an Enquiry. *Educational Review* (China), 1920 (Oct.), 348–54. *266.*

†The Health Problem in Mission Schools. W. W. Peter. *Educational Review* (China), 1920 (Oct.), 309–19. *267.*

†Important Development in Missionary Interest in Agricultural Education. John H. Reisner. *Educational Review* (China), 1920 (Oct.), 320–6. *268.*

India

†The Education of Boys of the Better or Upper Classes. T. Vander Schueren. *Asiatic Review*, 1921 (Jan.), 47–63. *269.*

†Report of the Commission on Village Education in India. W. Meston. HF, 1921 (Jan.), 22–36. *270.*

See also *207* (Women).

Africa

See *232* (Central Africa).

Other Fields

See *194* (Philippines).

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†The Mission Hospital and its Policy for the Future. P. H. Stevenson. *China Medical Journal*, 1920 (Nov.), 60–7. *271.*

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The Bible and Missions. Helen Barrett Montgomery. Illus. 240 pp. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Missions. 60 cents. 1920. *272.*

General

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IX. The Church in the Mission Field

The Ancient Church and Modern India. Godfrey E. Phillips. x+140 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. Cloth, 4s; paper, 2s. 6d. 1920. *274.*

See review, p. 272.

†The Miracles of Sadhu Sunder Singh. C. W. Emmet. *Hibbert Journal*, 1921 (Jan.), 308–18. *275.*

A critical examination of the Sadhu's miracles, which are declared to be explicable on the basis of recognized psychological principles. The complete sincerity of the Sadhu is accepted.

†The Indian Church and its Future. G. S. Duraiswamy. HF, 1920 (Dec.), 452–61. *276.*

†De indiska kristnas fostran till självunderhåll och självstyrelse i Leipzigmissionen. Herman Sandegren. SMT, 1920 (1), 15–35; (2), 114–32. *277.*

†The Book of Common Prayer and Native Churches. Bishop of Dornakal. EW, 1921 (Jan.), 16–26. *278.*

†The Value of some Liturgical Features in Church Services. A Symposium. Walworth Tyng. CR, 1920 (Oct.), 675–9; (Nov.), 775–80. *279.*

†Glauben und Leben des Negerchristen. F. Monninger. EMM, 1920 (Dez.), 331–8. *280.*

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La formation du clergé indigène dans les missions catholiques. Ce qui a été fait jusqu'ici aux Indes, au Japon, en Chine. Directions que donne à ce sujet la récente Encyclique.

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

Lambeth and Reunion. An Interpretation of the Mind of the Lambeth Conference, 1920. Frank Theodore Woods, Bishop of Peterborough; Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar; Martin Linton Smith, Bishop of Hereford. 115 pp. London: S.P.C.K. Cloth, 4s. net.; paper, 2s. 6d. net. 1921. *282.*

See also *208–10* (National Missionary Council, India).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

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Die Wurzeln der primitiven Religion. Georg Wunderle. 84 S. Würzburg: Kabitzsch & Minnich. M. 4. 1920. *283.*

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†West African Religion. R. E. Dennett, F.R.A.I. *Church Quarterly Review*, 1921 (Jan.), 260–75. *284.*

†Några anteckningar om zuluernes sedliga uppfattning. J. E. Norenius. SMT, 1920 (2–3), 71–113; (4), 157–70. *285.*

Horte schets van het Toradja-volk in Midden-Celebes. Dr N. Adriani. 36 blz. Oegstgeest: Zendingsbureau. f 0.30. 1920. *286.*

†De To Seko in Midden-Celebes. Dr Alb. C. Kruyt. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en*

volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1920 (LXXVI[3-4]), 398–430. *287.*

†De To Rongkong in Midden-Celebes. Dr Alb. C. Kruyt. *Bijdragen tot detaal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1920 (LXXVI[3-4]), 366–97. *288.*

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†Religiöse Vorstellungen und darauf sich gründende Sitten und Gebräuche der heidnischen Dajak auf Borneo. H. Sundermann. *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1920 (LXXVI[3-4]), 452–82. *290.*

†Le culte des pierres. L. Cadière. *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.* T. XIX, n° 1. 115 pp. *291.*

See also *187* (Borneo); *188* (New Guinea); *193* (Philippines); *196–7* (Indo-China); *226* (Gold Coast); *228* (Congo); *235* (Bantu Folk-lore); *245–6* (Oceania).

Religions of Japan and Korea

The Three Hour Sermon on God, Sin and Salvation. Paul Kanamori. 140 pp. New York and London: Fleming H. Revell. $1.25. 1920. *292.*

Contains, in addition to the sermon which this leading Japanese evangelist repeatedly preaches, a sketch of his life by Dr Speer.

Religions of China

Dschuang Dsi. Das wahre Buch vom südlichen Blütenland, verdeutscht und erläutert von Richard Wilhelm. 268 S. Jena: Eugen Diederichs. M. 15, geb. M. 22. 1920. *293.*

Der zweite Halbband des die taoistische Philosophie behandelnden Bandes des Sammelwerkes: Die Religion und Philosophie Chinas erscheint hier im dritten bis fünften Tausend in der bekannten trefflichen Ausstattung. Herausgeber ist der bekannte Missionar des Protest. Missionsvereins in Tsingtau.

Das Spruchgut Kungtszes und Laotszes in gedanklicher Zusammenordnung. Hans Haas. 244 S. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M. 16, 20. 1920. *294.*

Researches into Chinese Superstitions. Second Part. The Chinese Pantheon. Vol. VI. Henry Doré, S.J. Translated from the French by M. Kennelly, S.J. Illus. xxxiv+234 pp. Shanghai: T'usewei Printing Press. $5. *295.*

The publication of Part I was noted in IRM, 1917 (Apr.), Bib. No. 84.

†Missionaries and China's Canonical Writings. Harlan P. Beach. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 236–48. *296.*

†An Approach to the Study of Confucian Ethics. William S. A. Pott. *New China Review*, 1920 (Oct.), 448–55. *297.*

†Ancestor-Worship: Its Origins and Results. W. Munn. CMR, 1920 (Dec.), 319–28. *298.*

†Feng Shui or How the Chinese keep in Tune with Nature. L. C. Porter. CR, 1920 (Dec.), 837–50. *299.*

†Die Anschauung der Chinesen von der Sünde. A. Nagel. EMM, 1920 (Oct.), 278–83; (Nov.), 311–9. *300.*

†Stå vi inför en konfusiamismens remässanstid, i Kina? D. Landin. SMT, 1920 (1), 10–14. *301.*

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The Chamārs. Geo. W. Briggs. Illus. Appendix. 270 pp. London: Oxford University Press. Calcutta: Association Press. 6s. net. 1920. *302.*

A scholarly addition to 'The Religious Life of India' series, edited by Dr J. N. Farquhar and Dr Nicol Macnicol.

See also *199* (Literature); *211* (Educated Classes); *213* (Ghonds).

Islam

Der Islam und die Christliche Verkündigung. Gottfried Simon. 363 S. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. M. 40, geb. M. 48. 1920. *303.*

Eine missionarische Untersuchung über die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Islam und Christentum. Der erste Teil behandelt die missionarische Verkündigung, der zweite die Offenbarungsfrage, der dritte den Gottesglauben, der vierte den Mittlerglauben von Mohammed, der fünfte die Eschatologie und der letzte die Aufgabe der christlichen Verkündigung. 'Der Geist des Islam ist antichristlich.' Sein bewusstes Streben geht darauf, den Christus der Christen zu ersetzen, und zwar durch den Propheten selbst. Wir setzen keine Hoffnungen auf die Reformbewegungen im Islam. Die Gegensätze bleiben. Das Verschwinden des Halbmonds bedeutet das Aufgehen der Sonne.

Bulletin des périodiques de l'Islam (1914–1918). René Basset. Fascicule spécial de la *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. 85 pp. Paris: Leroux. 1919. *304.*

Bibliographie critique des articles traitant de questions musulmanes parus dans différentes revues entre les années 1914 et 1918.

A Moslem Seeker after God. Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D. Illus. 302 pp. New York: Revell. $2.25. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *305.*

Showing Islam at its best in the life and teaching of Al-Ghazali, mystic and theologian of the 11th century.

The Secrets of the Self. Muhammad Iqbal. Translated by Reynold A. Nicholson. London: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net. 1920. *306.*

An Indian Moslem, educated in England and Germany, writes in Persian on metaphysics.

See also *179* (China); *215–7* (Syria); *218* (Christian Approach); *219* (Holy Cities); *220* (Persia); *223* (North Africa); *325* (War and Missions); *326* (Political, Africa).

Judaism

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF RABBINICAL AND MEDIAEVAL JUDAISM. W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box. viii + 334 pp. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net. 1920. *307.*

See review, p. 291.

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT FOR JEWISH READERS. A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. 40 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 6d. 1920. *308.*

This presents an aspect of missionary work among the Jews which has been rather neglected. Its aim is to show, against Jewish popular belief, the early date and the essentially Jewish character of the books of the N.T. An appendix enables Jewish readers to gain some idea of the contents of each book.

EINLEITUNG IN TALMUD UND MIDRASH, fünfte, ganz neu bearbeitete Auflage der *Einleitung in den Talmud.* Hermann L. Strack. 250 S. Munich: C. H. Beck. M. 11, geb. 15.50. 1921. *309.*

Those who possess the earlier editions will be the first to procure the book in this much improved form.

JÜDISCHE GEHEIMGESETZE? Hermann L. Strack. 36 S. Berlin: Schwetschke. 1920. *310.*

A candid investigation by the well-known Christian Hebraist of a favourite argument of the Antisemites, that the Jews have much secret teaching, and are, in fact, engaged in a world-wide conspiracy against Christians. The absurd and wicked 'Nilus' pamphlet receives much attention.

See also *247–8* (Zionism).

Other Religions

DIE THEOSOPHISCHE BEWEGUNG. L. Joh. Frohnmeyer. 120 S. Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung. M. 8. 1920. *311.*

Geschichte, Darstellung und Beurteilung der Theosophie aus gründlicher Kenntnis der Geschichte und Literatur. Die Theosophie ein armseliges Surrogat für das seligmachende Evangelium.

General

EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. Nathan Söderblom. 128 S. Leipzig: Quelle & Meier. Geb. M. 5. 1920. *312.*

Knapp, eine erstaunliche Fülle von Stoff meisternd und in viel selbständigen Gedanken die wissenschaftliche Arbeit weiterführend. Die Darstellung folgt der Geschichte und den biblischen Religionen, diese selbst als bekannt voraussetzend.

THE PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE GREATER RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. D. A. Stewart. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Macmillan. 7s. 6d. 1920. *313.*

†THE CHRISTIAN EXPLAINS HIMSELF. I. Way, Truth, Life. Edwyn Bevan. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 207–22. *314.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

CHRIST AND HUMAN NEED, 1921. Being Addresses delivered at a Conference on International and Missionary Questions, Glasgow, January 4th to 9th, 1921. xix + 203 pp. London: Student Christian Movement. 3s. net. 1921. *315.*

See review, p. 270.

SOME ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIANITY. John Kelman. xiv + 263 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. 1920. *316.*

Six lectures delivered in America.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS STARTS: AN OUTLINE BY ITS ORGANIZERS. 282 pp. London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net. 1920. *317.*

See review, p. 290.

†OTHER MEN'S SHOES. Edward Shillito. IRM, 1921 (Apr.), 174–82. *318.*

LA GUERRE ET LES MISSIONS. 1915–19. Jean Bianquis. xi + 324 pp. Paris: Société des Missions Evangéliques. frs. 6. 1920. *319.*

Contains twelve sermons preached in different places, by the veteran Director of the Paris Missionary Society, and addresses given by him at two conferences held in 1915 and in 1919.

†HAAGKONFERENSEN OCH MISSIONEN. A. Kolmodin. SMT, 1920 (1), 1–9. *320.*

†OM DEN KRISTNA MISSIONEN OPOLITISKA STÄLLNING. Nathan Söderblom. SMT, 1920 (2–3), 49–54. *321.*

†MISSIONENS STÄLLNING UNDER OCH EFTER KRIGET. G. Lindeberg. SMT, 1920 (2–3), 55–70; (4), 171–88. *322.*

†HURU KRIGET VERKAT. G. W. Lindeberg. *Lunds Missionstidning,* 1920 (2), 17–25; (3–4), 33–47; (5), 68–74. *323.*

†LES MISSIONS ALLEMANDES ET LE TRAITÉ DE PAIX. Alexandre Brou. *Etudes,* 1920 (5 fév.), 336–50. *324.*

Par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus.

†KRISTENDOMEN OCH DEN MUHAMMEDANSKA VÄRLDEN, EFTER KRIGSÅREN. G. W. Lindeberg. *Lunds Missionstidning,* 1920 (11), 161–8. *325.*

†GOVERNMENT AND ISLAM IN AFRICA. J. du Plessis. MW, 1921 (Jan.), 2–23. *326.*

†REGEERING EN ZENDING IN NEDERLANDSCH OOST-INDIE. Dr C. W. Th. Baron van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam. *Stemmen des Tijds,* 1920 (Sept.). *327.*

†Uit de Maleisch-Javaansch-Soendaneesche Pers. MZW, 1920 (LXIV⁴), 361–70. *328.*

See also *172* (West and East); *175, 177, 178* (China); *201–201a, 203–7* (India); *227* (Belgian Congo); *229* (Tanganyika); *230–1* (African Labour Problem); *236–7* (Race Problem, South Africa); *239* (South Africa); *240* (Madagascar); *241–2* (American Negro); *250* (Race Problem); *253* (Backward Peoples); *315* (Glasgow Conference Report).

XIII. Hortatory and Practical

†Missionshomilitik. Hj. Danell. SMT, 1920 (5), 224–37. *329.*

The Gospel of World Brotherhood according to Jesus. John Clifford. 159 pp. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. net. 1920. *330.*

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given

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THE
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KARMA

By J. PAUL S. R. GIBSON

To attempt to understand the law of Karma it is necessary first to grasp three fundamental principles that would seem to underlie Buddhist thought.

First, that the individual is a watertight compartment or, to use another simile, a long isolated chain. He may appear to influence or be influenced by others, but this is an illusion. Whatever man does or suffers arises from himself. What we in ignorance claim as external causes are but incidents used to accomplish what must take place anyhow.

Second—the converse of the first—that a man's suffering is the result of his own evil actions. This suffering is strictly related to the sins committed. Suffering is both punitive and deterrent but, in view of the first principle enunciated, it is strictly limited in its sphere of action, affecting only the one who sinned. It is unrelated to the wickedness of others. It does not proceed from nor can it affect them. Arising as it does from the individual's sin it is ever a mark of his own imperfection. Happy is the man who is without it. His past righteousness is apparent.

When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

Suffering is in its nature derogatory, and Buddhism preaches as a central doctrine the way of escape from sorrow.

Third, that justice rules supreme in the world. No one reaps aught but the direct fruits of his actions, good or evil. Present pain or pleasure is strictly correlated and apportioned according to past evil or good. This justice is relentless, inexorable and complete. It is untouched by any considerations of mercy, love or forgiveness. The uttermost farthing has to be paid. All concept of personality in or personal relationship to this ruling force is non-existent. The process of retribution is as mechanical as it is unerring.

The word Karma contains the root idea of action ; the law called Karma is the force which causes re-incarnation to take place and, working on the material of performed deeds, justly measures and apportions the correct pain and pleasure merited by the individual for past actions. The Hindu and Buddhist conceptions differ in this, that in Hinduism Karma causes the rebirth of the person, soul or ego, who as a (pantheistically interpreted) personality suffers or enjoys the fruits of the past. In Buddhism where there is no concept of personality the new individual born is the embodiment of the very deeds themselves. The sense of personality inherent in every man has tended to obliterate this philosophical difference between the two concepts, and for all practical purposes the Hindus and Buddhists interpret Karma in similar terms, namely, that what a man sows that and that only shall he reap, and he alone. Thus the circumstances of any life, the sex, the status, the talents, the happiness or sorrow are the direct result of acts performed in a past existence, and deeds done now prepare the bed on which we must lie in other lives.

No traces of this faith occur in the earliest Vedas. It appears to have arisen later when the first trust in a Supreme Being was overcome by materialistic considerations, at a time when circumstances were no longer assigned to an over-will but accounted for by human law. 'The gods

will it, great are the gods,' gave way to 'The gods are just, there is none to blame but yourself.' '*Kala Kala de phala phala deye*,' or, to translate a Singhalese saying, 'Done done thing, fruit fruit gives.'

As it was obviously impossible to account for certain circumstances by acts done in this life—e.g. children born diseased or maimed, born into poverty and suffering—it was necessary to postulate a previous birth in which the deeds had been done; thence it was but a step to state that evil not reaped here must assuredly be reaped in a future existence.

It is urged in favour of the law of Karma: (1) that it solves the ever-present problem of the inequalities among men; (2) that it does so on the recognized basis of justice; (3) that by rigidly exacting the penalty of sin from the doer it makes for repentance; (4) that in the same way it acts as a deterrent from evil doing.

The law is thus claimed to be enlightening and just, and therefore moral in its effects. For our examination of this claim we shall not only deal with experience but seek the verdict of philosophical inquiry. We recognize the danger of attributing to any principle the shortcomings of its supporters. When, however, such shortcomings are seen to follow necessarily from the principles enunciated we may safely use experience to support our position.

The experience of some who have closely observed the effect of the Karma belief on action and character is that (1) suffering, far from producing a stricken conscience and true repentance, only leads to an invertebrate fatalism—not only material circumstances, but the man's character that reacts on them are regarded as decreed by the past. A man argues that he sins because he cannot help it. (2) Fear is a weak deterrent. Knowledge of a future penalty has little influence in producing good actions in the present.

It will be seen that these deficiencies are inherent in the belief itself, for Karma attempts to produce repentance

and to deter from evil merely on the basis of justly earned penalty. No personal relationships are invoked; in Buddhism these are ignored. Now punishment without any personal appeal—penalty without any sense of guilt—can at the best produce but a regret at the consequence of the act and a desire or determination to do the act so carefully in future as to avoid the punishment. There is nothing to arouse a true sorrow for doing the deed because it was evil. Now though the penalty may assist one to repent, the true seeds of repentance lie in a sense of guilt arising from having acted against the will of a person to whom one is in direct and recognized relationship. Repentance is inseparable from personal relationships, regret alone arises where the breaking of mechanical law brings on the due penalty. So with regard to the future. If evil doing merely means that for present pleasure future pain will be incurred, and nothing more, then in the words of Omar Khayyám let us 'take the cash and let the credit go.' The pleasure we know and it is good and present; the pain is vague and future. Again Karma is essentially self-centric. Man, according to it, lives and dies to himself alone. His neighbours' joys and sorrows are not his affair. It may be his duty to sympathize and help, but, even if he fail, the law of Karma will see to it that the neighbour does not suffer from his neglect. It shifts all responsibility from the shoulders of a person to the working of unerring law. One need look no further for the low ebb of social service before the influence of Christianity became felt, with its definite fixing of responsibility on each to be his brother's keeper. Experience supports the Christian belief that man neither lives nor dies to himself alone. The complex union of life is such that the shifting of a pebble alters the centre of gravity of the world, and the action of one individual reacts on the destinies of all.

Further, Karma sets out to explain all inequalities on the basis of rigid justice. Let us test this claim. The varying conditions of individuals, it is said, are due to

unequal actions in a past life, these again to unequal actions in a still previous life, and so on till we get back and back to the final equality from which all must have started, if rigid justice is the primal basis of all. But if this first equality were, as is supposed, an absolute equality, where can any divergence or difference have ever arisen ? If two persons start absolutely equal, how could one sin where the other did right ? Unless free will be granted no divergence could have arisen. If it be granted, then the whole karmic structure falls to the ground, for individual free will contains in it the element of divergence, since it is possible for two individuals to act differently under exactly similar conditions.

There is another point which must not be overlooked in estimating the value of Karma. Much of the argument is based on the assumption of a past life. Now this life is not remembered by the ordinary individual. Here and there people have arisen who assert that they remember their past incarnations, but except for these few and absolutely unverifiable statements, which are against the general experience of humanity, we may say that no one has any remembrance of those evil actions for which he now suffers. However close the karmic relation between action and fruit may be, as regards practical experience the sufferer is conscious of none, and the fact that the past life and its errors is not remembered removes any moral or educative value from the penalties incurred. It is an axiom of education that the punishment must, in the mind of the receiver, be related to the sin, and follow closely on it, otherwise not repentance but bitterness is aroused. To be punished for an unconsciously done or unremembered sin cannot fail to produce a sense of injustice. Thus the fact of non-remembrance strikes at the very root of the principles of justice on which the law is based.

Once again the necessary effect of the belief in Karma on one's attitude to the suffering of others must be taken into account. According to Karma, if a neighbour (in

the widest sense) suffer, it is his own fault. He can only suffer what he deserves, he cannot suffer less nor more. We cannot by any action reduce or augment his due. It is true that if we do not feel sympathy and show compassion we heap up sorrow for ourselves, but the fact remains that our attitude or action, whatever it be, cannot really change the condition of the other. Similarly, the attitude of the sufferer who receives the compassionate act or gift is influenced by the same considerations. The beggar in the street appeals not to the highest motives of disinterested action but to the certainty of reward, the heaping up of merit that shall produce happiness hereafter. Even if the appeal produce the desired result, no true sense of gratitude is aroused in the mind of the beggar. His words, 'May your merit accrue,' are a true expression of his feeling. The giver has not helped him, the beggar has only got his due and we do not thank others for that. On the other hand the giver has heaped up merit for himself. If thanks are due to anyone, they are due from the giver to the beggar for affording him an opportunity of accruing merit. The light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world makes true compassion and sympathy on the one hand, and true gratitude on the other, exist amongst the Buddhist, but this is not due to the belief in Karma—rather Karma must of necessity tend to obliterate these feelings by cutting at their very roots, which lie deeply embedded in the sense of personal relationship. Karma thus blunts the mind for any true appreciation of disinterested action. This has been the repeated experience of many. The Buddhist instinctively looks for self-interest as the basis of the generosity or compassion of others. In answer to my question as to why we did dispensary work at the Training Colony, Peradeniya, I have again and again been told that it is to acquire merit. The placing of all action on the basis of cold calculation must in time destroy the finer sentiments. One cannot be truly generous

if one is for ever conscious of the reward. One cannot be truly grateful where the benefit to self is decreed by fate and the advantage all lies with the giver.

Self-sacrifice for reward and spontaneous self-sacrifice are and ever will be as the poles apart.

'For whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall find it.'

To avoid any fear of misunderstanding let me once again insist on the difference between the subconscious influence of a long-established religious principle and the deliberate exercise of the same.

While the great Christian truth of the value of self-sacrifice, apart from the reward it brings, certainly produces in a Christian nation a higher standard of unselfishness, yet our inherent lower nature constantly fixes its eyes on the reward, and we are content to include in our hymnologies, and even sing, that grotesque verse—

> Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee,
> Repaid a thousandfold will be;
> Then gladly will we give to Thee,
> Who givest all.

But despite this lapse of carnal human nature our faith produces a high standard of unselfishness.

Conversely, though the holders of the law of Karma constantly act in a spirit higher and nobler than that law, yet the general effect of the law on the nation accepting it is to lower the standard of unselfishness and to emphasize the idea of personal reward to be gained by acts of kindness, rather than that of self-sacrifice irrespective of reward. The subconscious effect of Christianity is certainly towards altruism, that of Karma towards egoism.

Lastly, Karma is an excellent example of a theory built up to explain certain difficulties, and using for the solution certain facts which, while they cannot be disproved, have not the slightest vestige of evidence in their support. Undiluted theory is brought to explain the

problems of experience. Unknown, unremembered past and future incarnations are adduced in explanation of known and felt difficulties.

To sum up, Karma is not a true corrective of evil, nor a sound deterrent from it ; the infliction of rigid justice tends to harden the heart, as our prisons show ; fear of penalty leads to cowardice ; Karma cuts at the root of personal responsibility for others, actually inculcating fatalism as regards their joys and sorrows, and by the negation of personal relationships tends to fatalism with regard to self. Its individualism is contrary to the experienced solidarity of the race, its cold calculating freezes the life out of the finer feelings of men. Even the principle of justice on which it claims to be founded fails to establish itself in view of our forgetfulness of any past which may have existed, and offers no adequate explanation of the arising of differences among men.

We have seen that the principle of justice working alone does not bring the anticipated solution. This must not be taken as equivalent to an assertion that justice is not a fundamental world principle, nor as a statement that God is not just. The desire for justice in the heart of man is a right and sound one. Justice must ever persist in claiming recognition. But the point that must never be forgotten is that this complex world can never be reduced, and is not meant to be reduced, to a single principle. The ellipse needs the two variants, the parabola needs the same. Astronomically our universe works along these curves, have we any right to postulate that spiritually it works on anything simpler ? Assuredly not ; the presumption would be that the spiritual equation is still more complex. This finds corroboration in many of the problems of personality and not least in the mystery of the Trinity, a mystery unexplainable in full but realized by thousands in daily experience.

No, our world cannot be accounted for on single principles. This fact leads one to see wherein lies the fundamental insufficiency of the three Buddhist ideas

enunciated at the beginning of this paper, and on which the law of Karma rests. It is not their fallaciousness but their incompleteness that wrecks the whole fabric.

Sin does affect the self, so far the principle is true ; but sin does not only affect the self, therein the principle is incomplete. The sins of the fathers are visited on the children unto the third and fourth generation, and this fact of daily experience cannot be refuted or explained away by an appeal to an unknown unremembered past. The results of sin on the sinner and on others are visible every day, and we have no right to accept one set of results only as true and the other as illusion. It is just as true that others suffer from our sins as it is that we suffer from our own sins. Any true solution of the problem of inequalities amongst men must account for both truths.

The second basic principle which is the corollary of the first is that all suffering arises in one way, that all suffering is merited, that all suffering is the result of our own sin and therefore derogatory, punitive and preventive. But suffering is not of one kind only. There is merited suffering and there is also unmerited suffering. The one is derogatory and punitive, the other I trust to show is in its nature redemptive and therefore the highest privilege.

To assert that all suffering is of the punitive kind leads one to special difficulties as we consider the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. According to Karma, as the absolute truth, the sufferings of our Lord point to extraordinarily evil previous existences. The spotlessness of His life in the beginning of our era stands out in well-nigh impossible contrast with what Karma would assert as having previously occurred. The sudden holiness of this but lately vicious character is a problem which Karma does not solve. But allow the law of unmerited suffering, the law that the righteous suffer and work out the penalties of the unjust, and that the one fully righteous One suffered for the sin of the whole world, and we see at once how His perfect sinlessness in the eternity of His pre-existence with the Father,

and His spotless life on earth, are not only compatible but in full accord with the agony of body and mind He endured. We trust to show later how He bore away the sins of the world without annulling the partial sway of the law of justice that visits the sins of the father on the father and those of the children on the children.

The third principle also, that of rigid justice and rigid justice alone, is partial and incomplete. Justice is tempered with mercy, forgiveness interacts with punishment. In fact, forgiveness and punishment are not necessarily exclusive alternatives. The heart that forgives the wicked may yet see good to assist repentance by punishment. We are forcibly led to recognize that justice as the only world principle must and does fail to explain our universe and its varied life. The law that as a man sows so must he reap is both true and good, but it is incomplete. It needs its complement, which is that as a man sows so shall another reap. These two together throw a flood of warm light where Karma leaves cold and unalterable darkness. Merited suffering and vicarious suffering as two interacting and complementary laws solve the complex problem of life where one principle alone cannot but fail. Karma contains a grand and everlasting truth, but not the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The law of penalty is true, but it is not the only law set in motion by an evil deed. The law of redemption arises, the law, namely, of the winning over of the sinner by making him realize the penalty that others, and eventually God Himself in Christ Jesus, must bear for his sin. Where penalty and fear fail to dispel our problems, love and remission acting conjointly with penalty and fear may succeed in presenting mankind with a solution. Common daily life thus teaches us that the belief that our sin affects us is not incompatible with the fact that it affects others also; conversely, that suffering may arise from others' sin as well as our own; and lastly, that justice does not exclude forgiveness.

So far we have been destructive. Karma has been

weighed in the balances and found not absolutely false, but wanting, incomplete, truth beheld in part, knowledge seen through a glass darkly. Let us now be constructive and show that Christianity, in the first place, finds room for all these twofold truths, and in the second can present a theoretical explanation based not on mere surmises but on the spiritual experience of men and women.

All around us we see the interrelation of mankind. No race, no man can live to himself. The trivial act of one nation plunges the world into war ; the careless word of one man starts a feud that may last for generations. The son of the drunkard inherits a debilitated system. There is no end to our relation both for good or evil. Man is not a lonely elephant forcing his way grandly through the jungle,[1] but the member of a herd suffering and rejoicing with all the members, influenced on all sides and influencing all around him. He is not the single many-linked chain but part of a plexus of interwoven links.

Again it is evident that though many penalties are definitely traceable to the sin or the ignorance of the one who suffers them, and can therefore in some measure be regarded as just, yet even in such cases the penalties borne by one are often quite out of proportion with those borne by another who has committed the same sin. Two children are told not to go to the tank ; they both go and fall in, one gets merely a fright, the other is drowned. Very many penalties are however not traceable to the sin of the sufferer at all. A murderer stabs and kills an honest man because he will not connive in some deceitful plan. The righteous suffers for his righteousness. Other penalties are definitely traceable to another's sin. Not only is there no connexion between sin and the sinner, but a very direct connexion can be traced between the sufferer and the sin, not of himself but of another. The fathers eat sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge. For one case where the penalty fits the evil

[1] Cp. Dhammapada, § 330.

deed there are hundreds where no proportion is seen, where no penalty can be traced at all, or where the penalty is borne by others. This is true not only if we expect to trace the relation immediately, but also if we read the pages of history and can watch the course for many years. 'Why do the wicked flourish?' is ever upon our lips. In the face of such accumulated evidence, what right have we to imagine a law working in the past and to work in the future which is diametrically opposed to what we see in the present? Is it not more correct to argue that the facts around us being what they are there must be some meaning, some purpose in such suffering as is not merited by one's own act; that greater and more fundamental than the law of fairly adjudicated penalty is some other law which works out its results on different principles, a law in which justice has a place, but not the only place?

What that law is can best be grasped by the close examination of a particular instance. Consider the common case of a child brought up and educated with infinite care and patience by a father and mother. All that could be done was done, and for a time all seemed well. Love existed not only on the parents' side but was reciprocated by the son. Then comes the great blow. The son does some wrong and leaves the home, taking what money he can. The sin is done by the boy—the bulk of the suffering is borne by the parents. Certainly there is injustice, but let us trace the power of the parents' suffering and examine also what would be the result if such unmerited suffering did not arise. The fact that the parents suffer is first a proof of the love they had for their son. The fact that the parents go on suffering is the proof that they still continue to love him. It is the sign of their hope for his return and reformation. It is the pledge that they are striving to draw him back to themselves. The continued sorrow tells its own story of an agonizing heart that is ready to give all and suffer all till it bring back the separated

one into the heart of the family. It tells that pride and resentment and revenge have no place in their hearts. It tells of the expectancy that survives all fears, the love that over-rides all obstacles, and that is ready while the son is still afar off to run and kiss him and forgive.

There is no idea of punishing the son when he returns. This may or may not have to be done. In any case it is a subsidiary idea. The great longing is for restoration, and the parents' sorrow works unceasingly, untiringly to this end. And when the son, drawn by the constant appeals, softened by the love, overcome by the tenderness and the strength of the search after him,—when the son, I say, returns, what a home and welcome he finds awaiting him. The sorrow has prepared a place for him which nothing else could have done. Anger would have put him on his defence, indifference would have chilled him, but love breaks down the proud walls of his heart and brings him a penitent to those whom he has wronged. Such is the power of unmerited suffering. It is nothing less than the power to restore and to redeem, the power to bring back the separated one. It is the only power we know that can effect this. For suppose the parents, though sorrowing for a time, mainly because of the discredit brought on the family and not really through love, yet afterwards allowed their anger and self-righteousness to rule in their hearts, it is evident they would do nothing to try and bring back their boy. They would agree he had done wrong and must repent and come and beg forgiveness, and that then they would consider on what terms to re-admit him. Pride would prevent the self-humiliation that seeks the sinner. Even if the boy returned home it would be on a different footing—namely, as one who had sinned and never could be the same son again. No warm welcome would await him. Much the same would be true if the parents, instead of feeling resentment, pride and self-righteousness, were merely indifferent.

Apart from love that seeks the sinner, that suffers in

that search, that ignores the agony of suffering in the striving to find the lost and restore the wanderer, there is no quality or attribute that we know of that can win back the heart that has severed itself and re-establish a broken connexion. Justice can never effect this. Justice metes out penalty but does not forgive or reunite. Karma ignores the spiritual relations of men and quite logically only deals with penalty. But we know by experience the fact of spiritual relationships and also their value ; therefore we cannot be satisfied with a law which merely punishes and does not re-establish the relationships when they become severed. We need the forgiveness or reunion that love, and suffering love (as we have seen), can alone accomplish. The illustration used above covers in its range all those cases in which suffering arises from the breach of an existing relationship. Another large group of cases is ably met in Professor Hogg's book, *The Message of the Kingdom.* Here the power of self-forgetting love is traced as it fulfils the Lord's command to love the enemy, that is, as it tends to win him with whom one has as yet no definite connexion. It is the use made of suffering by a love that when it is reviled reviles not again, that stands dumb before its shearers, and that rewards good for evil. How often we experience that the soft answer turneth away wrath and that meekness and non-resistance end by winning the heart of the offender. That converted Buddhist priest proved it when he refused to go to law over a debt due to him, and twenty years later, through his persistent patience, won the debtor for Christ. Pastor Hsi proved it in China when he did not forcibly oppose the encroachments on his land until the whole of his large estates had been appropriated by others, and then had the joy of seeing them come in a body to inquire about the wonderful Master who made his disciples behave so strangely.

If we personally have not experienced the power of this kind of suffering we have only ourselves to blame. The principle remains, ' I if I be lifted up will draw.'

Thus we reach the position that if we are only ready to face the facts of daily life we discover a deep meaning for unmerited suffering. It binds what is broken, it draws to itself what was separated. The effectiveness and usefulness of unmerited suffering being thus established, the need for the Karma hypothesis to explain the unmerited suffering of the world is excluded. Karma is rigid and exclusive. It purports to explain all suffering in terms of justice; our illustrations show such explanation to be unnecessary, for another solution more in accordance with the facts of life has been found. It is not claimed that all unmerited suffering has been easily explained, but it is claimed that sufficient cause for some of it has been found to eliminate the necessity for such an assumption as the law of Karma.

Let it not be thought that the principle of justice on which Karma is based is ignored. Certainly some suffering is merited and receives penalty *pro rata*. That which a man sows shall he also reap is as true in Christianity as in Buddhism. Suffering undoubtedly is punitive at times, and corrective and preventive at others, but we fail to understand it if we neglect to realize its restorative, redemptive and winning power.

To summarize the whole argument so far we may say: Buddhism, basing itself on the supposition of the isolation of the individual, postulates an unerring implacable law of justice and is satisfied when the uttermost farthing has been paid. Christianity, establishing itself on the experienced fact of the solidarity of the race and the interrelation of its members, and realizing that the ideal is union and not isolation, finds a vital principle at work always striving for reunion and harmony, and does not fear to press into its service the mysterious powers of suffering in order to attain the final happiness of man. It cannot rest till the lost link is once again forged in the furnace of love's fire. The Karma hypothesis ignoring present-day facts attempts to satisfy one of the ideals of the human mind. The law of redemptive sorrow, using all the complex data of psycho-

logical phenomena, satisfies the totality of the aspirations of the human heart that bends to its sway.

We cannot leave the study of this conception of suffering at this point without touching on what is its final proof and glory. The reunion between man and man wrought by the agency of the suffering of the one who did not do the wrong is but a feeble expression of the agonizing power which draws the sinner back to his God from whom his sins have separated him. Man suffers in part unmeritedly to win back man, God in the fullness of His immaculate innocence agonizes to win back the whole race. Man's power and willingness to forgive are, as we saw, proportional to his suffering over the sin of the sinner. With God and man it is the same. Our hope of restoration into union with God, or in other words our hope of forgiveness by God and also God's willingness and power to reunite or to forgive, are dependent on, and expressed by, His agony over our sin and separation. Our hope lies in His suffering. This is so, not primarily because it pays a debt or satisfies an angry deity, or justifies a law of righteousness, but because it expresses and proves to us His forgiving nature, a forgiving nature which, as our illustration showed, could be manifested in no other way. With God there is forgiveness, and the eternal God manifested to man in time and space in Christ Jesus reveals to us by many infallible proofs, by life and death, that He who inhabiteth eternity yet agonizes to the uttermost over man for whom He is lifted up on the Cross.

If this stupendous work of redemption is wrought by the unmerited suffering of the Sinless, shall we not be ready, as far as is permitted to sinful man, to be partakers of His sufferings and joyfully to suffer with Him ? How cold the Karma that counts and cancels ! How wondrous strange this law of suffering, how warm with the life-blood of Him who counted not the cost but gives and forgives, draws and restores !

J. Paul S. R. Gibson

MISSION EDUCATION AND NATIONAL POLICY

By Professor PAUL MONROE, Ph.D., LL.D.

I

During the past two hundred years two great political forces have been operative in society, that of democracy and that of nationality. The strongest and the most nearly universal of the two has been nationality. During the earlier part of the period the factors that were thought to produce or to foster nationality were racial homogeneity, religious unity and a common language. Other conditions were also deemed essential, such as geographical unity, a centralized government and similar factors. However, with the growth of democratic ideas and practices it became obvious that, though important, these factors were not the sole or even the essential elements of nationality. The development of the American nation particularly demonstrated that strong nationality might be compatible with or even dependent upon freedom in religious thought and practices and upon the obliteration of racial lines through complete freedom of immigration.

Not only in America but more especially in Europe it came to be recognized that some factor, more inclusive than language, religion or race, formed the basis of effective nationality. This more fundamental basis was recognized as a common culture. By this term is meant not the English idea of culture—an intellectual attainment plus an æsthetic appreciation—but a community of ideas, purposes, traditions, institutions accurately indicated by the German word *Kultur*. In fact the Teutonic peoples during the eighteenth century were the first to become

conscious of the political significance of *Kultur*. Moreover, they made an additional discovery: namely, that this common culture, unlike race, is an artificial product. It can be manufactured. The process of manufacture is education; not education in the traditional English sense —the attainment of individual culture—but education as a process controlled by the state for political ends. Hence came the development of national systems of education, first of all by the various Teutonic peoples, then by the other European nations, then by the United States; last of all advanced nations, by the English. In fact only in our own generation have either the people of the United States or those of England come to consider education as a national process which is to produce the common culture essential to a strong nationality. Even yet the more popular view conceives education as a matter of individual interest, based on individual effort and aiming at individual culture. On the other hand nearly all other nations, including, be it noted, many if not most peoples toward whom missionary efforts are directed, conceive of education as a group process, legitimately to be controlled by the government for the production of a common culture. To this political conception of education both the American and the English government and peoples are now committed. It is in this sense that education will hereafter be considered in this article.

Education in this group sense conforms to certain laws or principles which are operative in a greater or less degree in all countries; more effectively, perhaps, in countries to which mission education is directed than in the English speaking countries from which missions come. Mission education, it is true, aims at objects beyond those involved in the national or cultural education; it has distinct motives of evangelization and ideals of the development of Christian character in its students. With these distinct aims this article does not deal. But to be successful it must conform to the more fundamental social principles which control education

as conceived and carried on by the people for whom it exists.

More specifically the writer would argue that to be effective permanently, mission education must so affect the principles and the organization of the group cultural education as conceived by the non-Christian peoples that the ideals aimed at by the missions may to some extent be included in these principles and this organization. This may be done in two ways; first, by modifying the ideals, spirit and purpose of the dominant state education; second, by operating educational experiments which will force the dominant system to imitate the higher type. The most direct way to accomplish the first of these objects is to contribute directly to the state system, wherever possible, through the training of teachers.

The second thesis which the writer urges, based upon the above analysis, is that mission education in the near future is apt to be much less influential than at present, because of the failure to take into consideration the two suggestions made. In the first place the mission schools have paid so little attention to the training of teachers that in many regions they cannot staff their own schools and in few or none can they make any contribution to the teaching staff of the government schools. In the second place the missionary bodies are attempting so much in the way of education, and are wasting so much through competition, overlapping and lack of co-ordination, that however strong some of these institutions now are they will shortly be so outdistanced by government institutions that they will lose relatively much of the influence they now have. Moreover, within the present or the next generation, native institutions will be so developed and so strongly intrenched that the mission education can exert little influence on the government system. When that time arrives the best students will turn to government schools and the missions will have lost their great opportunity. It is true that there will yet remain, perhaps will always

remain, the opportunity to accomplish much good through the education of a relatively few individuals, and through assistance to the local program of evangelization ; but the larger opportunity will have been missed.

However, missions operate under such diverse circumstances and among peoples of such different stages of culture that a further analysis is necessary before attempting concrete application.

In the process of developing a common culture as a basis for nationality three distinct stages may be noted, in each of which missions are now operating. In the first, people are still living in tribal form, under genetic rather than political institutions. Political organization in these cases is now almost universally provided through colonial control.

In the second stage, the peoples are in a transitional state of political organization and are consciously seeking to replace the indigenous culture with the artificial modern product of a common culture. Some of these people, as the Chinese, may have a high degree of native culture, may indeed be more highly 'cultured' than western peoples, but that culture is inadequate to the demands of the modern world. Such people have become conscious of the importance of a common culture, of the kind which may be manufactured by the direct processes of education, and are seeking to replace the indigenous form by the modern product.

In the third stage, the people, having become fully self-conscious of this process, have succeeded in perfecting the machinery for replacing the old culture with the modern one through an effective school system.

In each of these stages the cultural system and the educational process conform to distinctive principles or laws peculiar to the given stage. It is a further argument of the writer that mission education should conform to these conditions. In other words, it is argued that the mission education policy for people in the first stage should

be very different from that in the second and the third; that in the second or third it should differ from that in each of the others. This argument may be supported by the following application.

II

The first stage, that of primitive cultures, is illustrated by the various African peoples, the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines and of the East Indies, and no doubt by other groups. With such peoples the fundamental need is not for a literary education, but for one which will include all the essential elements of modern civilization and Christian culture. Education along economic lines should give them modern methods in industry and in agriculture, which will enable them to become self-supporting in a new environment, to contribute to the world channels of trade and to avoid exploitation by Christian nations. For such peoples the missions should lay great stress upon trade or industrial schools and upon agricultural schools. An education which is merely literary is apt to result in the separation of its beneficiaries from the masses of the people, in the creation of an intellectual caste which in time leads to an exploitation of the masses by their own leaders little less reprehensible than exploitation by outsiders. Such peoples need an education in personal hygiene and in public health which will enable them to withstand the evils introduced by commerce and by new conditions of living; this may be necessary to prevent complete extermination such as has actually occurred in the case of some peoples of the Pacific islands among whom missions operated early in the nineteenth century. Such peoples need a moral education which will enable them to withstand the contact with the morals—or the *mores*—as well as the immoralities of Christian civilization. They need an intellectual education also, but one associated not so much with books and linguistics as with the simple practical

processes of the life which they must lead. All the educational elements mentioned can be blended in such practical schools and all, including the intellectual, will be far more effective than if isolated in a modern academic procedure. What is needed is the education of a Hampton or Tuskegee, not that of a New England college or high school. The methods of the latter would benefit a few individuals, but for the most part would entirely eliminate them from their native environment or would nullify their native influence. Religious leaders these people need and such leaders must be produced and trained; but their influence would be exerted more effectively through the religious aspects of occupation, family life, social customs, than through philosophical and theological effort. Their native religion is intimately connected with their industries, their home and tribal customs, and every act and thought of daily life; the higher religion which replaces the genetic one should be no less intimately connected with all these.

III

With the second stage of this cultural development the problem grows more difficult; in fact it presents the greatest difficulties of the three, both because it is most complex and because it is fraught with the greatest possibilities and promise. Here would be included China, India of the past and the Near East, the great mission fields of the world. Such peoples possess cultures far older than our own, almost as complex, just as stable, perhaps even more so, and in many essential respects just as high. But with the exception of the Near East population, these cultures do not include Christian ideals. And, reverting to our main thesis, such peoples are not yet conscious, or are just becoming conscious, of the significance of a common culture as a basis of group unity and of group progress. They are becoming conscious also of the significance of a controlled educational process as a means to this national unity and

progress—far more conscious of it than are the mission educators who work among them. Therein lies one serious aspect of the present situation.

Let us try to analyze the educational problem at this stage. From our point of view these people need all the elements of a Christian culture. From their own point of view they need an education which will give them all the essential elements of complex modern culture. It is not possible to give them only a religious education and expect that to stand. It is not possible to give them an intellectual education only and expect that to function. We do not undertake at home to convert an individual to the Christian life and attempt to influence only his religious thought and feeling. We expect his religion to affect his conduct in vocation, in family life, in politics, in social relations. It is true that it does sometimes happen that a man is converted only as to his religious life, the change not visibly affecting his business practices and his other relations. But we are not so proud of the result as to seek to reproduce it elsewhere. And with us the individual so 'educated' has the advantage of working in institutions and following customs that are substantially controlled by Christian ideals. The convert in a non-Christian land has not this benefit. Hence the necessity of seeking to modify every phase of culture, of developing every phase of a Christian community, of training leaders in every phase of social life, in industry, in commerce, in politics and the professions; of developing the laity as well as religious leaders, and of attempting to establish on the basis of Christian principles all the essential aspects of modern culture. An attempt to give a religious education which is inhospitable to modern scientific ideas, or which is not accompanied by a training in modern science, will defeat its own ends. A mission education that does not make provision for the training of future political and social leaders will eventually find itself situated in a society of modern structure with governors hostile to the education

which neglected this essential feature. When the third stage of development is reached, as may soon be in all these countries, such political leaders will have both power and means for the realization of their hostile purpose.

Let us confine our discussion for the moment to one country, China. The education which China needs, and of her own volition is now seeking, includes all the elements of modern culture, industrial, economic, hygienic, medical, scientific, political, social, professional, religious. Mission education must offer no less, or at least must offer the preparation for no less. The root of the difficulty is that mission education was formulated when in essential aspects China was in the early stages of the second culture period. Perhaps even yet the basal organization of Chinese society is the genetic one of family or clan rather than political. Therein lies the political problem of that people. A further difficulty is the enormousness of the problem. It had to be attacked piecemeal; efforts had to be confined to small groups, to isolated localities. To this day the need as well as the opportunity is so great and the results so significant that it is difficult to consent to sacrifice isolated efforts in favour of a larger plan which contemplates the future as well as the present.

The magnitude of the problem is such that a definite and rational policy should be adopted. It is so huge that no agency save that of the conscious organization of the entire group, that is the nation, can accomplish it. Hence the missions must seek for some other aim than the education of the masses; that is, of all of the people even in any one community. Only an organized Chinese people, acting through their own government, can do that. And, when so organized, the nation will do it irrespective of what mission education may desire. Nor can missions look forward to educating all the leaders or even attempting to do so; that possibility is passed even now. One native institution, the national university, has now nearly 2500 students, of university or at least higher grade, pursuing

western science. It has a budget of nearly a million dollars and has on its staff of three hundred some distinguished world scholars. Practically a part of the same institution is the higher normal school, with eight hundred additional students, a half million additional budget. The combined institutions have a staff of over 400, nearly a fourth of whom are returned from foreign training. Probably all the mission institutions of higher grade combined cannot equal this one in budget, student body, staff or number of returned students employed. The government plans four such institutions ; the missions have two or three times this number aspiring to be colleges or universities. Mission education must seek some other aim than this.

Can such an aim legitimately be found in the support of a considerable number of institutions of higher learning, including professional schools ? The budget submitted for one such agricultural school as planned for the future totals $100,000. Many such at home cost much more. Engineering schools demand even a more generous support ; the Peking Union Medical College has a budget of $800,000, which is about the expense of a similar institution at home. Though this school cannot hope to train one one-thousandth of the physicians which China will need, the China Medical Board has withdrawn other contemplated schools of a similar character as beyond its ability to support. Can the missions contemplate more ? The task of training all the professional experts which China will ultimately need and will soon demand is one impossible for private resources. When the Chinese people come into full self-consciousness and political self-control, it is certain that they will not permit the training of the bulk of the nation's professional experts at any time by private authorities, even were this feasible.

What then should be done ? As one policy it is possible to develop a considerable number of agricultural, medical and other professional schools or colleges of moderate proportions, meeting needs that are urgent with the expec-

tation that they will soon be outclassed by government institutions. Then the outclassed mission schools either can be abandoned or turned over to the control and support of the native Church or of private authorities. As a second policy these schools may be allowed to vegetate as second-rate institutions or less, to be viewed with indifference by the Chinese. A western institution inferior to a native one has little prestige in the Orient. A third, and it would seem a better, plan would be to limit higher educational activities to a very few institutions, attempting professional work in any one line in only one or two institutions. The purpose would then become to make the work in any one line so excellent and so effective that it would serve as a model for similar work undertaken by government authorities, and to train efficient leaders for these professions rather than the rank and file. The mission forces now probably have at their command the educational resources to do this better than the government can, and have also the moral force which the government lacks. The adoption of this plan would mean the cessation of competition among a large number of institutions inadequately supported and equipped and the elimination of overlapping. It would mean also a close adjustment of mission education to its Chinese environment.

One of the two chief objections made by the graduates of mission schools who have come into wider contact with western education is that their training failed to give them any close contacts with the actual conditions of Chinese life; the object of the missions seems to have been to establish replicas of New England colleges or of English public schools without any sufficient consideration of their relation to the Chinese environment, including native religious and moral ideals. The force of such criticism is now assuming serious proportions. The most feasible way of obviating this criticism through academic channels is through motivation of the scholastic work through direct relation to the needs of Chinese society. When such

motivation is called vocational or pre-vocational or industrial or professional, it is apt to arouse the antagonism of many mission educators. Some reflection and inquiry, however, will reveal the fact that the chief difficulty with American collegiate education is the same, namely, that it lacks adequate motivation. Intellectual curiosity, desire for learning as such, or the research motive may be sufficient for the instructor ; it is seldom sufficient for the student. He needs and demands a more concrete and a more immediately realizable end. The search for such motivation is the chief characteristic of present conditions in higher education in America. The most obvious solution is the beginning of professional work at the end of the junior college, as is done in practically all state universities and in most of the great endowed universities. The chief reason it is not done in the smaller institutions is the prohibitive expense of administration. Probably the majority of American college students are so grouped in professional or pre-professional courses. There is no reason why such a policy should not be followed in the mission schools of China. This would coincide with the government educational projects, with tendencies in America, with practices long existing in Europe, and with modern educational thought.

One notable exception should be made to this generalization, and this for two reasons. In the training of leaders in religious life, in politics or in law, an intellectual education should be given as rich and as prolonged as the economic condition of society makes possible. For in all the countries in this second stage of culture development, which is practically all of the Orient, learning is in high repute for its own sake. The learned man, the teacher, the student is held in higher esteem there than in any country of the Occident. Western culture if it is to replace the oriental must be represented by learned men, by intellectual leaders who are the peers of the intellectual leaders of the old culture. Hence the leaders in Christian thought,

in religious life, in civic and public life must receive the widest possible intellectual training. The second reason is that the subject matter of the senior college course is usually that necessary for training in these professions. In its origin, and for long thereafter, the American college furnished the professional training for these two careers of church and state. Even yet the general materials included in the law course in continental European countries and in Latin America is usually presupposed in American law schools and hence incorporated in the college curriculum. In other words the senior college really becomes a professional or pre-professional course for the minister and for political and legal leaders.

Secondary education presents a somewhat similar problem though one of greater extent. The secondary school aims primarily at the selection and training of the leaders. Particularly is this true if this secondary school follows European tradition and includes the training of the pupil from the eleventh or twelfth years of age to the eighteenth or nineteenth. To accomplish this end the period may be divided into two schools, to conform to government standards, though it will doubtless ultimately seem to be most advantageous to organize the period into one school unit of from six to eight years in length.

The social function of secondary schools is to select pupils of the necessary ability to continue into the professional schools, and in a larger way to prepare the rank and file of leadership in all lines. The opportunity and need are so great and the task for China is so huge that it is a legitimate aim, and one promising adequate returns for the missions, to enter the secondary school field to the extent that the work can be well done without limiting other policies. However, it is far better to do a limited amount well than a larger amount poorly; better, that is, for the ultimate attainment of the aims of mission education. It is true also that much of this should frankly be vocational or pre-vocational, for the reason advanced above.

The scheme of organization should synchronize with that of the government in order that the secondary and higher mission schools may be able to draw largely from the government elementary and secondary schools, while the government higher schools under certain conditions may draw from the mission secondary schools. The facilitation of these interchanges will advance the great purpose of mission education, namely, to exert a Christian influence in moulding the character of the native leaders of the coming generation.

As to elementary education perhaps but one additional consideration enters the argument. For the present the need is so great that every effort is worth while; elementary schools are needed as feeders to the higher schools; they are needed as models for government or native schools. The additional consideration is that mission elementary schools will be needed for the nurture of the Christian community, until the government or other native schools are so permeated with Christian spirit and purpose that the children of the Christian community may with safety be left to them. As the ultimate aim is to bring about this transformation in Chinese society, it may be said that the test of the success of mission education is the extent to which it may eliminate itself.

There is one other fact which to the writer seems the most important of all. If the immediate object of mission education is to bring Christian influences, ideals and purposes to bear on the Chinese youth, there would seem to be no more effective way of doing this on a large scale than by shaping the character of those who are to teach and control the government schools. By such means mission influence on one Chinese boy or girl may be multiplied a thousand-fold, and be exerted by and exemplified in those through whom China must be Christianized, if ever—namely, by the Chinese themselves. Yet comparatively little is being done in this respect and that little of very recent origin. Some years ago the writer visited a

considerable number of mission centres and found in all of them efficient schools, many of them with fine plants. In some centres there were several such plants. In only three or four of these centres was any effort being made towards the training of teachers and that in a most desultory way. He recalls no such class that had more than a score of pupils. Yet in each one of these centres government normal schools for both men and women were visited, having an attendance of from two hundred to a thousand each. All of these students were taught after the Japanese method and in the Japanese spirit. Yet in these same regions the government officials were willing to use all the teachers that the mission schools could furnish. It seems lamentable that so great an opportunity was missed and is still being missed.

The responsibility for this situation lies not wholly on the shoulders of mission administration. It is but a part of English and American tradition. In no progressive country in the world, including China, Japan, Latin America and most countries of Europe, is so little emphasis placed on the training of teachers. The reason for this condition is simple. Education has been conceived of as a local not a national function. Its purpose has not been to develop a social culture upon which a strong bureaucratic or even autocratic government could be built. Democratic, not nationalistic ideals have controlled. Initiative, self-dependence, ' self-activity,' self-control, have been aimed at in the pupil ; the same characteristics have been deemed quite sufficient for the teachers. Hence an elaborate technical training supervised and provided by the government has not been deemed essential. This situation is now generally admitted to be quite inadequate. And it is a serious error for western educators to repeat the mistake where higher standards are set up.

It is even a greater mistake to send over untrained teachers to serve as models in competition with trained teachers. The very fact that the mission teacher comes as

a representative of a superior education sets him up as a model. It may be freely admitted that the mission educator has a vast advantage in the knowledge of the subject matter to be imparted, in personal culture and in force of personality; but a knowledge of technique is often quite as important. At least it gives its possessor the feeling that it is. All the government teachers have had from one to four years of technical training, many of them in Japan, some few abroad. To see the American college graduate blundering through the process of teaching the elements of his native language, because he has had no training in the technique, and is probably even unconscious that such training exists, and to compare his work with that of his Chinese neighbour who is engaged in a similar process, and who has had two or more years' training in technique, though it may have been mechanical, brings no credit to the former.

Professional study is desirable even aside from technique. Suppose an argument arises whether secondary education should include professional or vocational courses. The untrained teacher probably would not know, though his Chinese educational acquaintance might, that at least forty per cent of the two million pupils in the secondary schools of the United States are majoring in vocational lines; that twenty-eight per cent of the total are in the one field of commercial education. Suppose the argument was that the mission schools should follow the American plan and have an eight year elementary course instead of a five or six. He probably would not know, as his professionally trained friend might, that 500,000 American children are now in junior high schools instead of the old seventh or eighth grades. Perhaps the question in dispute is whether academic collegiate training should extend the non-professional work of the student through a period of sixteen years or whether the senior college should offer professional and pre-professional courses. The American college graduate's experience would probably not acquaint

him with the fact that with few exceptions all American universities allow and provide for this plan and that most professional students adopt it.

The point of the argument is that American mission educators need a professional training before they are sent out as truly as do medical or religious workers. To omit this is not fair to them, to their constituency, or to those among whom they work. Further, it is urged that larger provision should be made for the higher training of native teachers in mission normal schools and that normal courses should be established in numerous secondary schools as well as in colleges. The Philippine experience shows that a fairly effective teacher training can be given even in the intermediate school. This, however, was in a less complex society and was an expedient to furnish quickly the large number of teachers required for a government system.

Throughout the whole educational programme there should be sought as an objective a close contact with Chinese life, an approximation to the spirit of the Chinese or to their thought life, an attempt to carry over as much of their old culture as is compatible with the new. In some respects the mission schools may be doing this. But the failure to preserve the contact with Chinese life and thought results in an exotic religion and culture and detracts from the realization of the primary aim of mission work—the Christianization of China. This being the first of the criticisms offered by the products of mission schools, the second one may be properly mentioned here—namely, that too little use is made of the product of mission work and of the natives in general in the operation, control and direction of mission work, educational and otherwise. The failure to do this now does of course delay the realization of the ultimate purpose of turning all work over to the native Christian Church. The point of the argument is that it should be done progressively and as rapidly as possible. Whether the second criticism is just or not the writer cannot state, but he is able to affirm that it is one frequently made.

To summarize the significance of the second stage of social development and mission work, it may be pointed out that its chief characteristic is the vague recognition by the people of the importance of education as a means of developing a common culture which will serve as a basis for nationality, without their having as yet developed the power to control the process.

The classic example is in the Balkans. Here Greek schools, Bulgarian schools, Serbian schools, Turkish schools, even Armenian schools, Italian schools, American, British and French schools have competed to this end. All of them are looked upon by the natives and by the local governments as direct proselyting agencies for their respective peoples. A partial exception may be made in the case of the British and American schools. With the same exceptions it may be frankly admitted that the schools are such agencies. Political allegiance follows the religions; schools determine the religion of their pupils and indicate that of their parents. In both the fact and the common recognition of the fact by the natives lies the necessity of a mission policy which should meet this condition.

All the peoples of this second group are making great effort to acquire such self-control—a political and cultural control through schools. The chief problem for mission education is to formulate and adopt such a policy as will preserve their influence, as will allow it to make the maximum contribution now and to retain its influence on ideals and purpose, as will permit it to offer models and to continue to contribute effectively to leadership when the culture development shall pass into the third stage.

IV

The third stage of cultural development is reached when the group attains complete self-consciousness, sets up definite group aims, and constructs and supports an efficient political government which adopts definite pro-

cedures for realizing these ends. The most fundamental of these group aims is that of creating, maintaining and developing a common culture. The most significant of the procedures for realizing these ends, and the only one adequate to secure a common culture, is a nationally controlled system of education.

Mission education in such countries confronts a quite different problem from that found in the earlier stages. Mission work in Europe, in Latin America and in Japan would fall into this group. Here it is obvious that there may be two distinct situations, one in which the dominant government and the peoples are Christian, the other in which they are non-Christian. But the political and social principles underlying educational work would be largely the same in the two cases. Mission work and mission education in the Christian lands would obviously have a much more restricted object and a narrower justification. Into the question of the ethical and religious principles involved here, this article will not enter. To arrive at the social and political principles involved, it will suffice to consider the one outstanding non-Christian nation of this group, namely, Japan.

The outstanding fact that mission education must face in its work with all peoples of this third group is that such people have determined to use education as a means to a national end and that they may consequently compel non-governmental education to conform to many of the fundamental requirements of state education. Their political, social and even ethical right to do this cannot be gainsaid. These requirements relate usually to the qualifications of the teacher, to the subjects taught, to the relative number of nationals and non-nationals in the administrative and teaching staff, to the actual administration of the school and to the teaching of religion.

It is the application of some or of all these requirements that has caused the curtailment of mission education in Japan and has restricted its influence. It is a similar

situation that is causing so much trouble in Korea at present and that promises difficulty in China, India and the Near East, in the future. Since the enforcement of such requirements is often objected to by the mission educator, by his supporters and by his administrative superiors, and since this situation promises to be a most serious problem in the future, let us examine its premises briefly before discussing an advisable policy.

The requirement which caused most curtailment of mission work in Japan was that the teachers should have a given number of years of professional training. All teachers in the elementary schools of Japan must have had four years of normal school work, and all in secondary schools must also have had secondary school education preliminary to the professional. All schools possessing rights similar to government schools must have on their staff a certain proportion of teachers measuring up to these minimum standards. Mission administrators do not yet have any adequate conception of the importance of the professional training of teachers, so naturally the mission schools were not prepared to fulfil such requirements and suffered accordingly. Not that mission educators and mission administrators were wholly to blame. The American people as a whole have no such standards and have no such belief in the professional training of teachers. The facts available are not entirely comparable but they are these : The Japanese teacher in the elementary school must be a graduate of a normal school which gives him a professional training of four or even five years and is approximately equivalent in length to our secondary school. The teacher of a secondary school must have a professional training of four years which is beyond the secondary school. In the United States less than fifty per cent of our 650,000 public school teachers have the requirement of a full high school education ; less than twenty per cent have a high school education plus a two year professional training. The question is, is it advisable to set up an inferior professional

standard in a foreign country even in the name of missions; and, if so, is it advantageous to the missions themselves to do so?

Reverting to a previous argument that is pertinent at this point, it is the prospective application of this requirement to non-governmental schools that is apt to furnish the point of contact and of conflict between the government education and missions in China. At present it looks as though the missions would not be prepared and the government will be in the right as to position and principle.

The second requirement which is apt to cause difficulty is that all instruction must be given in the native language. This is now accepted without debate so far as schools in Japan are concerned. The difficulty arises in the colonies or the lands subject to the Japanese, especially Korea, a question discussed in the following paragraph. A more serious aspect of the question will arise when the Chinese government shall establish this rule. Wherever this point has been considered in the United States, legislation has always enunciated the principle that all schools should be taught in the English language. Numerous commonwealths have adopted such requirements. Wherever the question is up, the attitude of the American people is unquestioned, namely that they have a right to make such a requirement for the security of their culture and political institutions. American interests operating in foreign lands are in no position to advocate any other policy.

A third requirement which may cause difficulty is that of certain minimum essentials of the curriculum. The point here lies in the inclusion of elements which are considered essential to the native culture or the exclusion of elements which may be considered essential to the culture of the mission educator. The mission schools naturally find it difficult to teach Japanese history and political theory as they are taught in the government schools. It becomes more difficult to do this in Japanese-controlled Korea. Has the Japanese government the right to demand this and must

the mission schools conform? When the Japanese government objects to the teaching of the American Revolution and the patriotic services of Washington, or of the American Civil War in the schools of Korea, because of the political influence of such teaching, what answer is to be given?

Before answering authoritatively, one must study the attitude of American governments towards similar questions. Certain American states have recently passed very drastic laws directed towards controlling the economic and political beliefs of teachers. It is hardly to be denied that there has developed or is developing a new orthodoxy. The question of religious orthodoxy no longer interests the masses of the people or the government authorities. But the question of political and economic orthodoxy does. Without discussing the merits of the case here, the one point of concern is perhaps obvious. As believers in democracy we can hardly demand privileges in foreign lands which we are not prepared to grant in our own land. It is not sufficient to answer that as individuals we do not accept this position. As long as our governments exercise such rights, we are in no position to deny them to foreign governments under which we seek to exercise the privilege of educating their youth.

A fourth point concerns the administration of schools. It is probably admitted that as a matter of policy it is best among peoples where the government is entirely competent to have mission schools administered by natives. The problem arises acutely when this becomes a legal requirement. This condition is likely to arise soon, the precedent being set by Christian nations. If we revert to our fundamental thesis, that education is now recognized as the means for determining the culture of a people and that all individuals should participate in such a culture, the validity of such a demand can hardly be questioned.

The fifth problem, which is the most serious of all to mission educators, concerns the teaching of religion. Declaring Shintoism not a religion but a system of political

and social ethics, the Japanese bar the teaching of religion in the schools. The same attitude may be taken by the Chinese regarding Confucianism. The Japanese government forbids the teaching of religion in mission schools to which the privilege of government schools of the same grade are granted, but has allowed the teaching of religion in these schools if it is not a part of the regular curriculum or during the regular school hours. In doing this they claim to be following American precedent. If we grant that mission schools having the privileges of government schools are in fact government schools, this claim can hardly be denied; for it does not seem to be possible that mission schools can exercise the right of government schools and yet refuse to accept obligations of such schools.

In this position Japan is but acting on the principles followed or at least sanctioned by other governments. This much will be granted. Difficulty and sharp disagreement will arise concerning two other applications of this theory. One difficulty has already arisen. In certain regions, at least, the Japanese government has declared that religious instruction offered after school hours, if given to substantially the same body as constitutes the school population, even though other than school buildings are used for this purpose, is in fact religious instruction in the schools. This is carrying the separation of religion from education further than Americans, whether interested in missions or not, are prepared to sanction, or to consider within the proper scope of government. No American experience can be considered as a precedent; neither law, nor tradition, nor form of government would permit it. What political grounds we might have for combating this decision is another question. Whether the Japanese government will persist in this attitude cannot be said, for the question is still under discussion. Certainly adherence to this view would place mission educational activities under such handicap as to render the accomplishment of their main purpose impossible.

This position of the Japanese government is taken on

the grounds that religion forms no part of education; that the missionaries are free to engage in religious activities and propaganda as they may wish so long as no law is contravened; but that education is a government function, and that if such function is delegated to non-governmental agencies, such agencies must confine their activities within educational lines. This attitude foreshadows the second point of disagreement, a view which, if adopted, will render mission education almost impossible. Considering the recent rapid development of education as a function of government, for the purpose of determining the basal culture of a people, and thus laying the foundation of the social and political structure, it is quite possible that government should limit the exercise of this function to its own agents. In practice a number of European countries have substantially reached this position. All but a small fraction of the school population in these countries are in government schools, and those that are not are closely supervised. The French government has added to this situation the exclusion of religious teachers from the government teaching staff. The new Mexican constitution makes just this proposition: that none but natives with government authorization can teach. While this is not as yet enforced, it may be. It is towards such a position as this that the governments of the world, particularly those of less developed or smaller peoples, are moving.

It is through no unfriendliness towards or lack of appreciation of missions that this situation is pointed out by the writer. But it certainly is the part of wisdom for mission educators to take cognizance of the tendencies, to keep the conditions in view and to attempt to formulate their policies in accordance with the situation.

V

To the three types of culture and political organization under which missions operate a fourth must now be added,

chiefly as a result of the war. This final type includes the so-called mandatories, to which should be added Korea and probably India. The characteristic of this type is the dominance of a people in the first or second stage by one of the third stage, to the end that the culture development of the fostered people shall be assimilated to that of the dominant one. The present world situation indicates that possibly, if not probably, all colonial governments will be transferred to this group. Certainly less freedom is to be allowed to missionary agencies in all such regions than in the pre-war period. The immediate future will reveal whether India is to be transferred to this stage, so far as mission educational activities are concerned, instead of to the third stage. The same problem arises in Egypt, with the indication that shortly the mission problem there will fall into the third stage. In certain fundamental aspects the mission problem in the Philippines under the American government lies in this fourth group. However, here the educational force is so much more under control of democratic than nationalistic ideas that the problem of the relation of missions and government hardly arises. The fundamental democratic principles that nationality should be based upon complete religious freedom, upon the separation of religion and public education, and upon a fusion of social elements and interests rather than upon racial identity, have controlled the educational situation in the Philippines; consequently, notwithstanding the fact that the established government education has required the use of the foreign tongue of the dominant colonial government and has included as minimum requirements essential elements of the dominating culture, yet these have favoured the development of a common native culture. Complete freedom has been allowed to mission education and to native educational endeavour. The only pressure that has been applied is the attractive, rather than the compulsory, force of a superior educational scheme.

Even the brief experience of the last few months indi-

cates that a much more rigid policy in the control of mission, as well as of all other education, is to be exerted by those governments holding colonial or mandatory power. The experience of several years in Korea indicates the validity of this statement and also shows some of the results of such policy. It cannot be denied that all such governments are likely to exert considerable authority in controlling the culture development of their colonial wards to the end that it may be sympathetic towards the culture of the controlling power and favourable to its economic and political welfare. Despite the announced principles regarding mandatories, requiring that they shall be exercised for the benefit of their wards, it is quite evident that the real effect of this guardianship will be to direct their development for the advantage of the controlling power. Perhaps this may change in the near future. The recent action of the English government in India in relinquishing the control of education to the native provincial governments is the most significant step in this direction yet taken.

There is extreme, and it seems unnecessary, reticence in regard to the present situation, but a few facts may be cited to prove the point. In the Near East, American evangelical institutions of long standing have been compelled to change the language of instruction from English to French ; in some of these the mass of the Roman Catholic Church must be celebrated for the children. Other institutions of high repute, built up by great investment of funds and lives, are being forced to contemplate removal from French mandatory territory to the regions of English mandate. In India the English government has excluded all German missionaries for a period of five years with the promise to reconsider the question at the end of that period. In 1816 it proposed a bill which required all missionary institutions to give a certain proportion of the instruction in English, to include instruction in English history and institutions, and to employ a certain proportion of English nationals on the teaching staff. In institutions of certain

designated grades, English nationals must be at the head. Later this proposal was withdrawn, but the principles involved were at least considered as tenable.

In Korea the policy has been carried further than in any other region. Here the Japanese government has required that every missionary school shall give instruction in the Japanese language. This requirement placed such a burden on the numerous small mission schools conducted in Korea, through the necessity of employing expensive instruction in the Japanese tongue, that many of them had to be abandoned. Other requirements as to the minimum program of instruction added burdens, towards which mission schools as well as natives were unsympathetic.

Whether acceptable or not it is obvious that such colonial governments are going to exercise powers quite unfavourable to mission educational activities as carried on in the past and that they have the political power and the political right to do so. Before answering the question as to whether they are also morally justified, we should inquire concerning the action of the American state governments in the conduct of education during the past few years.

Numerous states of the American Union have passed laws requiring that all instruction in private as well as public schools shall be in the English language, allowing the use of a foreign tongue only in the study of that language. It is quite obvious that such laws have the approval of the masses of the people. Such legislation has the same object and is based upon the same principles as similar action in these colonial regions; namely, that of shaping the cultural ideals and activities of all the people towards the common end of a national unity. Many communities have gone to the length of forbidding any instruction in the German language in the common schools. Numerous communities exclude instruction in German from the secondary schools as well. This latter is obviously temporary, and an evidence of war psychology. The other laws ante-dated the war but had not been enforced.

Several states of the Union adopted laws eliminating teachers holding unorthodox views on political and economic questions. Some of these are quite as extreme as those cited above for the control of the character of school teachers. New York proposed inquisitorial laws to the same end that were quite as drastic as any in operation in other lands. The chief difference is this : that in a democratic community the enforcement of such laws is quite impossible in the face of the opposition or even the indifference of the mass of the people ; while under an autocratic government, such as any colonial government is apt to be, the operation of such legislation is entirely feasible, even automatic.

Since mission education is face to face with such conditions in numerous regions, it may be well to summarize the essential aspects of the situation. Such mandatory governments are apt to impose fundamental requirements upon all schools, public and private ; first among these is that of instruction through an official language, not necessarily the native one and not the one native to the missionaries. Second is the requirement of certain minimum subjects of study, including the language and literature, the history and institutions of the governing power. Third is the requirement of certain qualifications of teachers, particularly as to length and character of professional training; fourth, the national allegiance of the teaching staff and of the administrative head of the school.

Mission education will find it quite difficult to adjust itself to this situation. The third requirement may be expanded into a fifth if it should be made to include designated political and economic beliefs, or a given attitude towards the existing government. If this should be required, as it is by some American state authorities, mission education will find itself in an impossible situation.

To these stipulations may be added a sixth, that no religious instruction may be given in schools of any character. This would be defended on the grounds that all

education aims to determine the culture of a people; that this culture is essentially a matter of political or national concern; that individual or outside interests may be free to appeal to the religious interests of the people but that they may not do this through any control of educational channels which serve as a substitute for governmental educational agencies. Both Japan and Mexico have clearly indicated an approach to this position.

VI

In the face of our own policy, American missions cannot justly require a different one of a foreign government. Nor can they properly rely on the power of our own government to force the adoption of a more favourable or lenient policy in a foreign land. Even if success crowned such an effort, it is obvious that mission education or any religious work which must rely on political or military force is stultified and in the end ineffective.

It is obvious that mission education in these lands is facing a serious and a difficult problem. It is also obvious that old policies and ideas and the old attitude of indifference toward the governments under which they work, or toward the culture which they seek to modify, can no longer persist. It is perhaps impossible to forecast the future or to state the lines of policy which missionaries should pursue.

Certain guiding principles, perhaps, may be suggested as tentative proposals; merely tentative, since it appears that the general political situation of the immediate future is quite a new one.

Recognition of a government authority and the right of a superior government policy with regard to the components of a group-culture, and means for securing this, must be recognized. Mission education should adapt itself to the government education so far as this is not incompatible with its essential religious aims. It should seek to co-operate with and to contribute to this government policy so

far as possible. It should hold fast, however, to the fundamental purpose of aiding the people for whom it labours. To this end missions must seek as rapidly as possible to throw the control, direction, and support of education and religious training upon the natives themselves. They should recognize that their influence on the educational policy of the government will probably be limited to the indirect pressure which can be exerted through the maintenance of superior or model educational enterprises, and through shaping the character of native or government leaders and teachers. To this end they should endeavour to educate leaders through their secondary and higher schools and to train teachers through their normal schools. It should be recognized that their present contribution to the latter end is woefully inadequate.

This article is written with keen appreciation of the result of mission education in the past and the present, and in the hope that its ultimate aims may be realized in the future. It is written also under the assumption that these ultimate aims do not include the perpetuation of our denominational organization and sectarian differences among people for whom such differences can have little of the historical justification which they may have with us; but under the assumption that the fundamental desire is to establish a native Christian Church which may assume as speedily as possible the entire task of Christianizing the culture of the whole people, and that these ends are to be secured through the Christianization of as many as possible of the individual participants of that culture. The writer also assumes that such peoples are entitled to make their own interpretation of Christianity in the light of their own culture, their own modes of thought and their own historic backgrounds. If Japan could assimilate all the essential elements of the material culture of western civilization in one or two generations, this does not seem an impossible task. It would also seem, in the light of Japanese experience, to be wiser to urge and assist such peoples to make their own

organization and interpretation of Christianity than to insist that they must fit themselves into the peculiar and perhaps temporary moulds of existing western thought and organization.

Mission education, merely as education, even aside from its Christian motivation has much to contribute to these retarded or recently emerged cultures. The fundamental importance of personality, the necessity of individual variation as the basis of progress, the significance of individual initiation in social, political and industrial life, the value and the virtues of democracy, the deadening influence of a mechanical bureaucracy through a letter perfect technique are all to be conserved as of highest importance. But this can only be done by avoidance of some of the obvious shortcomings of democratic education, by breadth and tolerance of view and by the incorporation of some of the acknowledged virtues of the nationalistic conception of education. In these respects the problems of mission education are the problems of education at home.

The function of privately controlled education at home is to point the way to educational advance through its greater freedom of initiative and experimentation. The function of education inspired by the religious motive is to formulate and work out a comprehensive scheme of education which shall include essential elements of culture and personality which are apt to be minimized or neglected in the mass education controlled by the public. The function in mission education is to serve these purposes abroad in much more difficult situations.

PAUL MONROE

THE CHRISTIAN EXPLAINS HIMSELF

THE CROSS, THE SPRING OF HOPE

By FRANK LENWOOD

THESE are dark days. All serious people are disillusionized, mentally puzzled, and in pain of spirit. Is there any message, in religion or elsewhere, big and convincing enough for the immense need of the present time? Can Christianity, for instance, give good news to the world of 1921? The question is worth some careful thought.

One afternoon in Benares I went to see the low-caste shoemakers at work in the bazaar. After a little talk I produced a coloured picture of John the Baptist in prison and explained it to them. When the story was told, the master of the shop said to me, 'Sahib, if I were you I wouldn't show that picture.' I was a good deal taken aback and asked him what he meant. His answer was, 'Well, I shouldn't like to show any holy man of ours in a position of such humiliation.' The speaker was not a Hindu in the strict sense, but the principles of the Hindu philosophers filter down, and it was Hinduism speaking with the shoemaker's lips. As I came away the suggestion, like a barbed dart, worked further and further in. My mind travelled forward a few steps in the argument and turned to the death of Jesus Christ. With a sudden illumination that I shall never forget I understood what was meant, and always and everywhere had been meant, by the reproach of the Cross.

At first sight there is nothing more striking than the pessimism of Christianity. It plunges right up to the neck. It tells us that its God died. If we read the New Testament carefully we cannot but feel the contrast with

other founders of religions, gods, demi-gods, and prophets. The story begins with a Galilean peasant, insignificant of race, not very rich and apparently not very poor. Buddha was a prince and gave up his heritage. Rama was a prince and so was Hasan, the poisoned son of Ali. Jesus was a carpenter, and the adze, the awl, the chisel that He used were not symbols chosen to emphasize a gesture of reforming renunciation, but the natural tools of the trade to which He was born. He was no philosopher, as the world ordinarily uses the term. He said simple, obvious things about God, things that fishermen could understand. By His teaching He gained a wide hearing, but not as a rule from the people of influence and power—even such influence and power as were present in a country so small. When at last He entered Jerusalem in a sudden, almost unexpected triumph, the tide that lifted Him so quickly ebbed as quickly away. He had authority enough to cleanse the Temple, and for a time the rulers feared that they had a new force to reckon with; but Fate was only treating Him like a cat with a mouse, giving Him a short run in apparent freedom, and then pouncing upon Him. In a few days He was rejected by His own people, as He saw He would be. Even those who had lived with Him and been taught by Him shrank away in fear on the night of His arrest. Rather than Jesus the mob chose Barabbas —Barabbas, the commonplace leader of revolution. Even in the spiritual sphere Jesus seemed at His death to be surrounded by darkness, nor is there any note of exultation such as that which many a martyr has been able to sound. Later reverence and affection have called Him King and Prince, but in those days there was nothing of human royalty about Him, and the title on the cross, 'This is the King of the Jews,' was chosen for its irony. To His life's end every statement of external humiliation is underlined.

One thinks of another religious leader done to death, Hosain, the other son of Ali. But there is a fine dignity in

the story of how he was trapped at Karbala. He was left alone, it is true, but only when all his people had died for him; and even then the enemy stood off from him in fear and reverence like wolves surrounding the wounded stag, doomed but still royal. Jesus died alone because His closest friends had not grit enough to stand at their leader's side.

The dispassionate observer, while, unlike my cobbler friend, he would probably not be revolted by the story of Jesus's suffering and humiliation, is repelled by the extravagant meaning which Christians attach to this story of failure.

According to Christian teaching the humiliation is not only wiped away by what followed, but is actually the cause of the world's salvation. The typical Christian believes that this crucified peasant was an incarnation of God, nay rather, *the* incarnation of God; when he calls this broken life 'the Son of God' he uses words which he refuses to apply to any other member of the race. For Jesus, it is claimed, death was an essential part of His mission, apparently more essential than any of the rest; He voluntarily accepted, and indeed chose, the death He suffered. He saw the cup standing before Him and knew the pain with which it was filled. The mistake, if it is a mistake, is not of our day or of any of the orthodox, derivative centuries. It goes back to the first simple traditions of the early Church. He looked forward, Luke tells us, to the grim baptism that He was to be baptized with. He trod the way up to Jerusalem, in that vivid picture of Mark, with the shadow of what threatened so clearly impressed upon all His bearing that it communicated itself to His disciples and made them fear. Through a very large part of the recorded history, His actions seem to have been conditioned by the anticipation of a step which might bring Him to the verge, and over the verge, of death. All this is reflected in the mere amount of space given by writers of the gospels to the story of the

death and all that led up to it. The authors were obviously interested above all else in the sufferings of their hero. He could not have been Himself if His death had been unrelated to the suffering and sin of the world. The Christian Church is under the impression that for nineteen centuries it has lived upon this sacrifice.

Of course the dispassionate observer treats all this as impossible. We have evidence in plenty that it was so when the doctrine was first preached. The Jew stumbled at the blasphemy involved in representing the divine figure in such a helpless plight. The Greek laughed at the bad taste which could discover deity in a crucified disturber of the peace and at the want of philosophic training which could link God the Absolute, the ultimate and far-off principle of all existence, with something so concrete and material as the human individual in the sordid agony of death. After nineteen centuries all these difficulties persist. Inheriting the Jewish traditions and holding a view of the royal glory of God stronger than that of any Jew, the Moslem is revolted by the story. It seems an insult to every idea of deity that he is trained to recognize. The Hindu, commonly an *a priori* philosopher, carries the old Greek superiority to an even loftier elevation. For him God is so far distant from any of our ordinary conceptions that He can only be described in negations. We can say what He is not, we cannot say what He is. To imagine a being, therefore, claiming connexion with the divine, who yet dies a material death, is obviously a piece of barbaric thinking unworthy of an educated man. According to most of the current rules of secular thought both criticisms are justified, and the dispassionate observer in Britain or India or Egypt rather contemptuously throws down the glove—'This theory is ridiculously untrue and the sooner it is proved so, the better for humanity.'

Christianity, so far from recognizing its own foolishness, goes on to multiply it. Not content with saying that the Son of God died upon the cross to conquer evil,

it goes on to say that in dying He shows men what God is Himself. The men who spread the story of Jesus through the ancient world found God revealed in His cross even more than in His life.

Now all this is, after all, not so foolish as some consider. There was at least consistency in the Christian estimate. If anyone believes Jesus Christ was in any sense the revelation of God, he will find it impossible to limit the idea merely to the days of prophetic life and to leave out the period of suffering which in all the stories occupies the central place. If God was revealed in the *life* of Christ, it is only consistent to say that God was even more clearly revealed in His dying.

When you come to think of it, the Christian has rather strong arguments on his side. He has first the argument of experience. This broken prophet has stamped His thought upon the world. Jesus of Nazareth has laid His hand on the manliest and the most dangerous races of the West. Some of the greatest leaders of men, leaders who have commanded the trust of many nations, have found their guidance in His teaching. In spite of all the exhibitions of unfaithfulness and materialism within Christendom the Christian mind is there, and it counts. To take one instance, General Smuts' appeal, in which he urged rapid and decisive steps to improve the spirit of the Peace Treaty, is full of reminiscences of Jesus and His teaching, re-reminiscences that go far beyond any merely verbal debt.

This is not an effect touching a few individuals, or some of the nations of the West. The influence of Jesus is growing in countries ordinarily called Christian and not less in those called non-Christian; taking the world in all its round, there is no name so widely reverenced as His. His followers, His Church, may be exposed to every kind of criticism, but Himself no one criticizes. Humiliation has blossomed into triumph. At the end of the centuries the carpenter is more royal than any king of an earthly line. All this is experience; theory gives corroboration.

Even on the reckoning that Jesus was only the best man that ever lived, it is not a matter of accident that the purest life in human history should end in suffering and scorn; there must be something in the nature of things which connects holiness and pain. God, if there be a God at all, must in some measure be like that. Again, if in almost every land we can assume the idea of Jesus that God is Father—and it is so generally accepted in many eastern lands that men forget its Palestinian birth—we reach the same position. To say that God is Father means that He loves His children. Indeed men will usually agree with the Christian that God *is* Love. But if God is Love, what attitude is He to take towards His children's sin? The fact of that sin is admitted on every hand. What is God's reaction to it? Only one reaction seems possible. For a holy God the loving of sinful men must mean pain. As Moberly points out in his *Atonement and Personality*, exactly in proportion as a mother has reached holiness—health and sensitiveness of moral perception—exactly in that proportion does she suffer when her son sins. If she is not holy, she can pass it over lightly; if she is not loving, she can feel that it does not greatly concern her; but if she is at once holy and loving, then the sin loads upon her a burden of pain. It almost becomes her sin, indeed she behaves and thinks as if it were hers in very deed. So it is with God. Holy and loving to a degree beyond any vision that our minds can conceive, for Him the world's sin must be pain.

Therefore the Christian is unaffected by the incredulity or the ridicule of the world. He abates no part of his claim because he is accused of shallow thinking. With a smiling face he takes up all the gloves of challenge that may be flung down by his opponents, for he knows that the foolishness of God is wiser than men.

There was plainly something wrong with the presuppositions leading us to believe that God cannot suffer. Perhaps it is easier now to see where the fallacy lay. The

first mistake was in omitting the idea of holy love from our picture of God's character. On that enough has been said. The second mistake lies in regarding suffering or humiliation as a proof of weakness, and with that we shall still have to deal.

In order to do this we must begin from another place, the demand for progress. I believe that the simple instinct of the child to eat last the nicest thing upon his plate is one form of the desire for progress; even children feel that the notes of pleasure should be in an ascending scale. The yearning for progress is found constantly in the thought of the Greeks, while all through the Old Testament there runs a stronger and stronger certainty that the greatest days lie in the future. In the New Testament the idea of corporate and social growth is never far from the surface. It is true that at times this seems to be contradicted by the thought of the wickedness of the present world and the destruction that hangs over it. Christians did not always understand what their faith involved. But the destruction is always intended to lead up to a new and better world. Every apocalypse is essentially a protest in the interest of revolution. Thus, taking impetus and perhaps birth itself from Christian teaching, the thought of progress has won its way amid the temperaments of the West until it has become necessary to all thought about conduct and morals, unless every stick of our mental furniture is to be thrown out of the window. Deterioration into chaos will not fit with any Christian view of the ordering of the universe. This world must have a meaning and that meaning must include the element of advance.

Now the new East, having caught the infection of progress from the West, must find some basis for its thought, and it is hard to see where the East can find it outside Christianity. At such a stage it is good to remember that Christianity is itself an eastern faith.

Progress is always brought up short against the fact

of evil. We may think of evil either as the persistent inertia which resists goodness and obstructs reformation or as very much more than this, a definite and positive force seeking to establish a wicked kingdom of its own. Even in such a word as inertia we have enough to make us fear and hate it with all our hearts. In either case it is the enemy of the race and of every man and woman. The state of the world at the present time is the result of evil wills in every society and every land. If European civilization putrefies into barbarism, sinful passions are the cause of the decay. Progress, that is to say, is not an automatic movement. That belief was one of our mistakes before the war came to teach us reality. Progress is only possible as the result of a continuous spiritual victory in a struggle against our lower nature.

In face of the human evil we come to a sharp divergence between normal eastern religion and Christianity. Eastern thought in its main types tends to paint the working of evil in the strongest colours and at the same time to find release by turning away from the horrors of its own picture. Eastern religion, especially in its more typical forms, seems to say: 'Evil *is*; let us escape from it; in the world as we know it that is the only way, for evil will always remain.' It is this which leads to the doctrine that we should extinguish desire. There is no God who cares for His children, the system of things is corrupt and the only way of salvation is to renounce the world and seek nothing from it. But if the Eastern says, 'Evil *is*; let us escape from it,' the Christian says, 'Evil *is*; let us put it away.' For any thinking influenced by Jesus Christ evil is always something to conquer and, Christian or no, it is difficult to see how the believer in progress can take any other view. But to say, 'Put evil away' is easier than to do it, and many a mind in the West has been driven to despair and many more have taken refuge in indifference. The fact is that for so great and persevering a campaign you must have a sufficient motive power. If

the inertia of human evil is to be overcome it can only be by a corresponding force. We look for the coming of the day and yet we know that it must arouse the hostility of all those who love darkness or even twilight. Every new thing is hateful to some party. There is no new birth without the pangs of travail. The principle of inertia is in you and me, it is in human nature itself. We wish for goodness and in the same moment resent the thought of its sway.

Further, for the purposes of this particular argument we have yet to settle the greatest of our difficulties. Even if we possess the best intentions in the world, we do not start with any chance of radical reform. One of Lowell's poems begins—

> Life is a sheet of paper white,
> Whereon each one of us may write
> His word or two; and then comes night.

It is an attractive idea, but what of the writers? We have all given clean pieces of paper to small boys when they had made a mess of their letter. We know the result. The paper is clean, but the pen is smeared, the fingers are inky and they dip too deep. In about two minutes the second sheet is just as bad a mess as the first. In the same way the past is always round us. The Indian emphasizes *karma* with good reason. We are conditioned by previous action. The sin of the generations is about us and its mastery over us is insured by our own sin. That is the situation which religion has to meet. Hence it is that the more developed religions seek for redemption, deliverance for the individual from that which is.

The great non-Christian religions, however, give little help to those who want to see the redemption of the world. The doctrine of *karma* tells us merely that the past controls us, which is no more than to assure the sick man that he really is sick. The kindred doctrine of renunciation of desire, it is true, does attempt an answer, but, in that

it bids men disengage themselves from the world, it plainly shows that it concerns itself simply with their own salvation and has nothing to say about the redemption of society. Any salvation thus offered must be individual and anarchic. There can be no city of God, no communion of saints. For the progress of this world Hinduism professes no responsibility. Anyone who is bearing the burden of corporate sin can find no help there. In Islam the problem of sin, in the sense with which we have dealt with it, can hardly be found, and except in small circles of Moslem mystics, the teacher never goes below the surface of it. The same is true of Confucianism. As for non-religious philosophy, that can give us the science of human weakness, but it can give no remedy apart from revelation. In face of the tragedy of the world it is helpless. There are few letters so pathetic in their conscious feebleness as that of Cicero to the man who had lost his daughter by disease. But what would Cicero have said to a man whose only son had gone to the devil? He probably would not have written at all! We may summarize by saying that such of the non-Christian religions as take seriously the problem of universal evil all end in pessimism as to the world, and offer at best the deliverance of the individual. Hence they are useless for social progress.

Christianity on the other hand supplies us with the answer. It faces the facts of life squarely and without reserve. The doctrine of *karma* is true as far as it goes. Someone must pay for the past. Someone must understand what sin costs and he who understands must suffer. It is just here that God comes in. He is so bound to us by His Love that suffering for men is inevitable. The objection that the innocent is suffering for the guilty is seen to be superficial by anybody who will realize the bond existing between moral beings, which is stronger exactly in proportion as love enters into it. If Love is there, the innocent *must* suffer whenever the guilty sins. All life

is made that way. The whole doctrine of God's Fatherhood shows Him to be one with men and proves that solidarity which makes suffering inevitable.

The result is that Calvary for the Christian is not an isolated thing, nor the death of Christ a single incident at a certain date in human history. The death of Christ is an eternal reality in the nature of God Himself. That is what the apocalyptic writers meant by that curious phrase 'the lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' They might have used another phrase with equal right, 'the lamb slain till the world's end,' the end that shall issue in universal redemption. When therefore we see the crucifixion on the little mound of Calvary it tells us the greatest secret of man's existence. On a dark and stormy evening the late sunlight pierces through by one narrow rift in the cloud. We only see it partially because of the heavy medium it has to penetrate, but behind the cloud all is light, perfect in its purity and universal in its sweep. So it is with the death of Christ. In one incident it is the revelation of the world's greatest truth—that God suffers for the sin of men.

The world's need, then, is not something that stands by itself in horror unalleviated. It is known to God, who, because He is our Father, cares for us the more because our need is the greater. His pain is the guarantee that He is exercising a perpetual pressure to bring the world to accept His standards. Men may thwart that pressure because their hearts are evil. They may be too weak to profit by it. But the pressure is always there. Just as a rudder, turning the ship a very little at the captain's will, brings the ship to its haven, so God's pressure is bringing the world through to something worthy of the dreams He gives. Even in the spring of 1921, when the world is torn by conflict and aching with despair, it is still true. God is round our path, and, because He suffers, shaping our way.

But in the second place the suffering is more than

a guarantee of the divine purpose. It has a definite value of its own. Pain suffered for others is a real contribution to the world's salvation, the greatest contribution because the purest and most unselfish. I am not prepared to explain this, it is something too mysterious; but once a man has realized the idea he feels certain of it. The suffering of God, as it is revealed to us in the Cross of Jesus Christ, works without ceasing to the healing of the nations.

Here and here only we have the guarantee of progress. Here and here only can we get clear of the paralysis of the sin of the past. As Jesus conquered in a glorious resurrection, the natural sequence of such a death, so the God who suffers must also be the God who reigns.

The applications of this to the individual are full of illumination. While the Hindu says, 'Evil *is*; let us escape from it,' the Christian says, 'Evil *is*; our Master died to end it; let us also die with Him.' It is the paradox of Christianity that by this attitude pessimism is destroyed. All pure desire may have its course, aspiration and love move on unchecked to their objects; the good in life remains good. The Christian faith takes all those things in their natural and divine beauty, simply because with lifted head it also stands forth to suffer that the evil may be put away. The Christian life is 'as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things.' It passes my comprehension how a reformer can stand for any length of time if he does not know the Cross and has not the conception that he is to tread the same path, and to 'fill up that which is lacking of the sufferings of Christ.' And so, as I said earlier, we take up with glad, quick hands all the challenges that are flung before us. Where the world expects us to apologize we are exultant. We have but to look at our sign, the Cross, to know that it must conquer. An Indian student, a Moslem, once observed to me that, while the Hindu and Moslem students in college almost

invariably lost their faith, it was not so with the Christians. I am confident that the cause lies in the Cross. Therein Christianity faces the facts of to-day and has sufficient answer.

I will close with another memory. Two years ago I took a party of Indian soldiers to the ancient city of Arles. The wind was biting and so they lingered in the warm old Church of St Trophime. They were critical of the statues of the saints, so critical indeed that one of them remarked to me, ' It is plain that these people worship spirits ' (the word he used was *bhūt*). But they stopped in front of a crucifix in an entirely different mood, and as I explained to them what the Cross meant to us, I felt that here was nothing to apologize for, nothing to doubt, but the key to all the greatest mysteries of life. Their silent but obvious sympathy left me with the impression that they had begun to catch a glimpse of the reason for my assurance.

FRANK LENWOOD

'GENTILES WHO NEVER AIMED AT RIGHTEOUSNESS'

A STUDY OF A CHINESE VILLAGE IN FORMOSA

By CAMPBELL N. MOODY

It is difficult for any one born in a Christian country to picture the state of a heathen mind, or to believe that a soul, otherwise alert, may be almost destitute of religious thought, and almost untroubled by self-accusation. The more that I question Chinese heathen, and the more that I question Chinese Christians regarding their former condition, the more I am compelled to admit that feelings and fears and aspirations and strivings and regrets which ought to be there, and, one would have said, must be there, are really not hidden away in the recesses of their hearts. It is true that most men do not know themselves, and now and then we receive some piece of evidence which seems to upset our negative conclusions; but there are vast numbers of heathen who appear to have no dissatisfaction with their own religion, no hungering for righteousness, no misgiving regarding themselves, no desire for forgiveness or for deliverance; they are wholly satisfied with themselves and even elated at the remembrance of their virtues; many of them declare that they have never been visited by fears of death or of judgment.

How happy men and women can be, how happy and how well-behaved, without any thought of God, or of any god! Those happy and well-behaved heathen are an amazing sight. A Christian critic might insinuate that the happiness was apparent only. But from all that

I can see or ascertain, I must judge that, so far as it goes, it is real. Are there no moments of quiet reflection or of disillusion? There is very little evidence of such. Are those heathen happier than the average European Christian? They know nothing of an ecstasy of joy; this is quite certain. Is it not equally certain that none of them has ever experienced an agony of sorrow? There is, so to speak, only one octave in their scale. It might be imagined that the heathen were supported and restrained from evil by religious thoughts of their own. But what religious thoughts have they? The relatives of a sick person consult a god as to the remedies that ought to be employed. The farmer or the shopkeeper offers paper-money, food and incense in return for the promise of success. Religion seldom goes beyond that. Yet how happy many of the heathen are, how happy and how well-behaved!

This exclamation was often on the tip of my tongue when I was living for three months in a very compact or congested village of thirty-five households. In such a hamlet, where all doors and windows were open, for it was midsummer in the tropics, one could not fail to be struck with the absence of shouts of strife, or cries of distress, and with the absence of any indication of violent strife. My Chinese servant received the general impression that the village was not much tainted with impurity. It would be a mistake to dwell on such an impression, yet it is not an isolated impression. And it was impossible to live a very open-air life in one of the wings of a heathen farm-house without learning something of the farmer's family.

The family consists of what we should call a 'worthy couple,' verging on the age of sixty, a daughter, four sons and two daughters-in-law, with an adopted five-year-old grand-daughter. The head of the house is a good-natured, talkative and not very capable man. As beseems his age —so the Chinese hold—he works, or rests, or goes off to spend a day with friends, according to his humour. One day his wife rated him for spending the afternoon in

chattering when he ought to have been weeding the turnip-field. She is a capable and very active woman, kindly, but of a quick though not violent temper. Not content with the care of the home and work on the farm, she often takes a day's labour at a shilling and threepence a day, on the Japanese sugar plantation.

The daughter and the youngest son inherit their father's incapacity. This boy of fifteen herds the family cattle, finding pasture where he can, and returns at noon and again at dark. One day his mother reminded him that he ought to be away upon this errand: he replied that it was none of her business. My Chinese servant observed that in his home such an answer would have been reckoned very disrespectful: I told him that his judgment of filial piety agreed with ours. The daughter, like other members of the household, employs many of her days in cutting down firewood, and in carrying a hundredweight down the stairway to the market town, a full thousand feet below, and six miles away. There is no physical incapacity here. The journey begins at dawn. By noon the travellers are usually back from their rough and difficult tramp and the afternoon is frequently spent in tilling the fields.

It is an extremely busy household and an extremely busy hamlet. The day is filled up with the various tasks of ploughing the rice-lands, planting potatoes or other crops, tending and watering the vegetables, cutting fodder for the cattle and collecting faggots from the woods. In summertime the work does not end till, at half-past seven, gross darkness drives the villagers to supper. Let it be noted that these well-behaved people are accustomed to get by stealth their marketable firewood from the lands of a Japanese or a Chinese sugar-company, or even from the property of their fellow villagers, while they let out their own woods to the charcoal-burners. It is said that few of them cut down their own trees.

Daughters-in-law are the storm-centre of a Chinese home. Each washes the clothes of herself, her husband

and her children. But they cook the common meal by spells, each daughter-in-law taking, it may be, a month at a time. They fall out over this; it was observed of a certain family elsewhere, as something extraordinary, that neither in their heathen nor in their Christian days had they ever disputed the question, Whose turn comes next? If this difficulty is got over, there is room for trouble when one daughter-in-law is in high favour with the mother-in-law, while another is disliked, or when each takes sides with her own children in their quarrels with their cousins. Yet for three months, at least, there was no serious strife in this heathen home; it would have borne comparison with many a Christian home in the West.

The wife of the older son belongs to the village; she is a bright and friendly woman with a smile for every one. She and her husband appear to be models of amity. And she is a peacemaker; it is an everyday matter for her to take up the tasks which are shirked by the younger daughter-in-law. This younger woman comes from a distant town, and she was, presumably, a complete stranger to the family until the marriage took place. The old people chide her for indolence; but she seems to make a passable wife. I have often heard the pair conversing in the next room in low and confidential tones, quite in the manner of a fond couple in the West. Her husband inherits his mother's vigour and quick temper. Once his young wife remained indoors all day; even in the afternoon, when her girl-companions came to her window, and then to her bedside, to call her to accompany them down 'the path of peril' into the great glen, she refused to quit her room. The old man afterwards explained that when she went to draw water at the fountain, she had carelessly handled her buckets and broke one of them. When charged with the fault, she had put the blame on her husband's sister; whereupon he had called her a liar and slapped her on the face.

Another day there was a great war of words because

this son had been forced into selling to a Japanese policeman most of the family supply of a favourite sort of leek. 'Why did you tell the policeman that we had such a vegetable? You son of an adulterous woman!' cries the old man. 'How could I know that he would set his eyes upon our stock?' retorts the son. And so the debate went on.

These are ripples on the surface of the family life. In the main, it is a harmonious home, kindly, vivacious, full of talk and mirth, well-behaved and *happy without God.*

Such morality as may be found in this and many a similar home is a morality without religion. It is very doubtful whether the fear or reverence of any higher power is present or even latent. It is not a high-soaring morality; there is nothing heroic or self-sacrificing in the ambitions of any of the villagers. Not one of them, it is safe to say, has ever desired to leave the world better than he found it. Well-behaved heathen are apt, at the best, to be selfish. Each is content to keep harm away from his own door. I have seen this in the case of mad dogs once and again; when the owner was convinced that his dog was seriously affected, he barred his gateway, resolved that it should not come back to him. Such dogs wandered about the hills and away to strange villages, spreading the malady. Of course, there are heathen Chinese who are ready to do a good turn to others as they have opportunity, and there are, I think, some who are entirely honest. But the average man is apt to be selfish and greedy and keen for an unjust bargain. In the village of which I have spoken neither my servant nor I could see good reason for confiding wholly in any one.

It is well known that the Chinese make kind and even indulgent parents. They do not spare the rod; but the little creatures seem to deserve their chastisements and their manner at ordinary times suggests no restraint or awe. Is there not in a Chinese heathen home, as compared with a European Christian home of the old type, a wonderful degree of democratic freedom? In Chinese society the

aristocrat, the plutocrat, the teacher, the parent are amazingly accessible. Among children, in their conduct towards one another, there is a general harmony and kindliness. When they are at their gentle sports there is nothing to suggest that either boys or girls are heathen. I have seen a boy of ten with his arm round the neck of a girl of the same age; I asked whether she was his sister, he answered, No. Children often put their arms on one another's shoulders, or walk hand in hand like Milton's Adam and Eve.

One morning I saw a picturesque and moving sight. A biggish herd-boy was driving his charge of three in search of pasture. Behind came a calf, leading, rather than led by, a six-year-old girl, who held it by a very new rope, and cried every step of the way. At a little distance stood her mother, seeing her off and bidding her take heart. Not far away was a motherly onlooker, who explained to me that it was the first excursion of the kind for the timid little lass. A stone's throw to the north, on the rim of the village, stood a group of children, watching the scene. These children live in freedom and merriment, except when the ox goes straying, and then the little herd may remain out in the dark, afraid to return, till lamps are lighted and search is made for him.

I give details and instances, hoping that the reader may see how like ourselves those people are, and may feel amazed that their life can be so harmonious, complete and satisfying without religion. The same impression may be received everywhere among the Chinese. Let the stranger cautiously interrogate his heathen friends; let him question and cross-question those who have ceased to be heathen. He will not be able to escape the conclusion that the vast majority of non-Christians are 'alive without the law,' that, in short, Augustine spoke for himself and the few, rather than for the world, when he said, 'The heart is restless till it rest in Thee.'

Is there any valid reason why Chinese heathen should

turn towards the Gospel? The Gospel offers nothing that appears desirable to most of them. As a matter of fact, they often, or almost always, approach Christianity for reasons that are not valid, or not quite relevant. For example, a young man dislikes the prospect of having to kneel before the idols on the occasion of his marriage; he turns church-goer in the hope of escaping this annoyance. He has not the least thought of God or redemption. Yet ultimately he becomes a Christian preacher. A Buddhist priest is reminded that it is contrary to the precepts of Confucius, because it is unfilial, to remain unmarried and let his father's family become extinct. This may have been a good argument from a Confucian point of view; it has not much weight from a Christian point of view; yet it leads the priest to turn Christian. Again, an official has long desired to recompense the kindness of his deceased father; he is not convinced that his offerings will reach their destination, so he gives himself to inquiry and study. The Vegetarian Sect informs him that, with the proper means, he may accomplish more than he hopes; he may have himself, his family, and his deceased father, transported to 'The Blissful Heaven.' At this stage a Christian tract upon 'The Demonstration of the Heavenly Way' is thrust on his notice. This seems to offer the good which he seeks, and with the utmost eagerness he asks preacher after preacher what the Gospel can do for his lamented parent. He is an opium-smoker; but he is not in quest of salvation of any kind. On the contrary, even after he has built a church in his own town, he observes to the Christian preacher that he keeps all the commandments and commits no sin. Ultimately he becomes a convert of quite exceptional zeal, because he *acquires a taste* for Christianity. But what he sought from the Church, and did not obtain, was satisfaction regarding the welfare of the departed.

Heathen frequently expect a boon which the Gospel does not offer, and this false expectation draws them to the Church. A very large number of converts, probably the

majority, have forsaken the idols because, in time of sickness or adversity, they have obtained no deliverance. They expect that the God of the Christians, if He be more powerful, will give them health and wealth. They expect, that is to say, a blessing nowhere promised in the Gospel. They sometimes obtain this blessing, they sometimes fail. If they obtain it, they become lukewarm Christians, Christians in name ; or they advance to something higher. If they fail, they return to idolatry, or they cleave to the Church because they have found, and have begun to value, a blessing that they did not seek.

There is something almost ludicrous in the thought of so many people approaching the Church for invalid reasons. What should we think of those who went to a baker's shop to buy medicine, and became his regular customers because he persuaded them that he could satisfy some craving of which heretofore they were not aware ? Chinese converts usually aver that their former opposition to the religion of Jesus was due to ignorance ; they imagined it to be impious and unfilial. But we must often say that the first steps in their conversion were due to ignorance of another kind ; they imagined that they would obtain what the New Testament did not promise. If they had known the Gospel as it is, they would have rejected it. Origen says that it is often good for a man to be deceived, as Jeremiah was, when he said, 'O Lord, Thou hast deceived me.' Happy is the deception from which so many a Chinese convert has suffered.

But, as is the case of the village above mentioned, where the people are strong and prosperous, contented both with their surroundings and with themselves, there seems no room for any gospel, false or true.

Sometimes converts are the subject of motives that are fairly pertinent, though not in the strict sense Christian, as when they become persuaded of the truth that there is one God. Mr Mackay of Tamsui tells me that out of eight pupils in his higher school who became Christians

during one term, every one testified that this was the truth which laid hold of him. I do not cite this case as exceptional; all missionaries to Chinese know that it is typical. The point is that these boys, chiefly from rich heathen families, were not in search of wealth, or health, or protection; they were persuaded that the belief in one God was reasonable. Akin to such is the man who became a convert through seeing a sugar mill with European machinery. He argued, very shrewdly, that there must be something in the creed of men who could create such marvels. Another, who was an influential, thoughtful, and rather combative heathen, was impressed with the fact that while the great families died out in a few generations, the Christian families throve and multiplied. In these and similar cases it cannot be said that Christianity, as such, makes any appeal; but the monotheism which the Gospel takes for granted is judged to be true, or it is inferred that a religion accompanied by certain marks of power is probably a true one.

Heathen, in a somewhat similar fashion, often approve Christianity because of its moral fruits. As mere onlookers, they note the fact that the Church is a society from which opium, gambling, and the lusts of the flesh are excluded. They are not usually stirred to action; but sometimes they are, as when the wealthiest and most aristocratic family in the county presents a site and urges the building of a church for the welfare of the people of their district, or as when rich heathen send their sons and daughters to Christian schools for the sake of their moral discipline. Not long ago a heathen merchant debated what to do with his only son. The boy might grow up profligate; in this case there would be no posterity. He might be sent to the Christian school at Tainan; this would involve the risk of his joining the Church, which the father deemed undesirable; but it was thought better to have Christian descendants than to have none at all, and therefore the boy was sent to school.

When a man regards Christianity as something good for his relatives or his neighbours he is not very far from regarding it as good for himself. Yet it is far easier for heathen than it is for the unrepentant in a Christian country to bestow upon the Christian life a quite dispassionate praise. The heathen does not say to himself, If I grant the beauty of a Christian life I am constrained to adopt it. And the number of those who attach themselves to the Church in the hope of obtaining deliverance from some sin is much smaller than one might suppose. 'Great sinners' are often in search of health or wealth, or some other earthly good; then, as a kind of afterthought, they begin to reflect that a church-goer ought to be free from vice, or that if he desires to become a communicant he must get rid of the opium-habit.

Undoubtedly there are those who welcome the Gospel for the one reason that it promises deliverance from sin. And they get what they seek. But even these, who are but a small minority, are not in search of forgiveness. Forgiveness lies almost outside the circle of Chinese heathen thought. Sometimes a murderer or a detective is visited by disturbing memories, or a woman sighs for the sins of youth. But such a one does not seek to have sin forgiven. The aim is to blot it out, to make it 'melt away' or disappear; and the method is to put some generous deed in its place, 'by merit to patch up sin.' A Christian convert told me that when studying in the hope of taking his degree, he implored the god of the kitchen to 'forgive' him if any fault of his own was thwarting his efforts. But a dozen ministers and preachers who heard this statement declared that such a petition or desire was unknown to them and to all their acquaintance in heathen days. And I have never heard of anything similar. Why should the heathen desire the blessing of forgiveness? He does not adore, or dread, much less commune with, any supreme spirit, and if he commits a moral offence he does not feel, we may suppose, that he has offended any spirit in par-

ticular. At most he may feel that he has offended Heaven, but Heaven is too impersonal to pardon him. So then, sin is somehow to 'melt away.' What is effected when 'sin is patched by merit'? Is the offender himself comforted because a bright memory may now take the place of a dark one? Who is placated? The heathen scarcely inquires.

It will be seen that 'the word of the Cross' cannot be a gospel for such minds. I am uncertain whether I am acquainted with any Chinese convert who, at the beginning, was ready for such a word. The official above referred to tells me that when he read 'The Demonstration of the Heavenly Way,' even at that early stage the explanation of Christ's death appeared reasonable. But he was not in search of salvation; his mind then and afterwards was occupied with other themes. I have heard of a woman who, full of qualms for a misspent youth, joined the Vegetarians and vainly sought the blessing of an 'untroubled heart.' Some heathen friend told her in a confused manner the story of Moses and the serpent, whereupon she came to church hoping to get rid of sin in the manner that had been suggested. This seems to be an instance of readiness for 'the word of the Cross'; I could not mention another.

Is it surprising that very many converts in their vigorous efforts to win their fellow-countrymen preach everything and anything rather than the Gospel? Is it surprising that even trained preachers, who know the arguments on the subject, are often ready to follow, and sometimes ready to defend, a similar practice? Many condemn this unevangelical evangelism; yet it scarcely horrifies them, as it would a European, to hear an earnest Christian, once a great sinner, discoursing for perhaps half-a-dozen nights upon such subjects as Superstition, True Filial Piety, Progress, and Freedom, with very little mention of God, and next to no mention of Jesus. Perhaps, if they spoke their mind frankly, some of them might

rather denounce the folly of preaching to raw heathen on sin and salvation. Is it folly, or is it true wisdom? No dogmatic or offhand answer will meet the case. I should suppose that the average missionary preaches Christ too much, and that the average convert preaches Christ too little. I wonder how Paul would have judged. It is to be observed that when he says that he determined to preach nothing but Christ crucified he is not opposing this theme to preaching of God, or preaching against idolatry, but to preaching philosophy (wisdom). Undoubtedly the unevangelical preaching of Chinese converts is often very serviceable. It prepares the way of the Lord and wins men and women who ultimately become eminent Christians. And the missionary who seeks to serve the Lord Jesus must sometimes wonder whether he would please Christ better by speaking less about Him. He must sometimes ask whether he ought to expound more frequently those simpler preliminary truths which appeal to the pagan mind. Certain it is that when he preaches most of the life and death of Jesus, the converts gained are apt to fasten upon those elements in his address which deal with less spiritual themes. He spreads his table with dainties which remain untouched; his guests make free with the dishes on his sideboard.

CAMPBELL N. MOODY

A SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

By CHARLES E. WILSON

The recently compiled surveys of all the available Christian literature in the languages of India and China have prepared the way for a new programme of advance in the publication of books, the lack of which has been discovered to be a serious weakness to the missionary enterprise in those lands.

But the condition of African missions in the matter of literature is far worse than that of either India or China. The babel of tongues is greater, the darkness is more dense, and apart from the missionary societies there is practically no education or literature for the natives of the great equatorial belt of the continent. Nothing was more impressive to the present writer in a recent visit to the Congo than the fact that over large areas of the country and for whole tribes of people, the missionary society is not only an embodiment of benevolence and social uplift but the source of all intellectual enlightenment. Every book the people possess in their language was made for them by the missionary. Their speech was first committed to writing by the Christian pioneers, and in many cases the whole process of authorship, printing, binding of books, as well as the actual teaching is being carried out by the same group of missionaries on a single station.

It is a very notable achievement that already in more than 180 African languages Christian books have been published. The British and Foreign Bible Society in its Report for 1920 has 150 African languages on its list of translations. Of these 22 have the whole Bible, 36 have the whole New Testament and 92 have portions only.

Other agencies have been engaged in Scripture translation on some languages not included in the B. & F.B.S. list.

It is no easy task to survey all these languages and discover what books exist in addition to the Bible. A beginning has been made, on behalf of the Committee on Christian Literature appointed by the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and as the result of many months' correspondence with the headquarters of the missionary societies and with missionaries in Africa, book lists have now been obtained in 130 languages. These include all the chief tongues of tropical and South Africa. The lists are probably incomplete in many cases. Some of them include books which are now out of print and have been, or are about to be, superseded. It has not yet been possible to obtain sufficient information about the books on some of the lists to get a clear idea as to their scope—as for instance in the case of such vague titles as *Stories from General History*, or *Things that should be known*. But from all the material thus far received a card catalogue has been carefully made which will be the foundation of a more complete record as further replies are received. It is obvious that anything like an adequate survey can only be obtained when for every section of Africa in which there is a representative and co-operative missionary organization, a literature committee is appointed which shall undertake a full investigation of all the vernacular literature within its area.

Some of the languages on our lists are mere local dialects spoken within small areas, and are likely to disappear with the progress of civilization and the literary development of stronger neighbouring languages. In some instances a few small books have been prepared in the separate speech of an outlying tribe, with the hope of bringing it within the good influence of the main activities of the mission and opening the way for children to come to the school of the central station, there to receive their education in the language of the larger tribe or group of tribes. With the

success of that effort all further publication in the lesser dialect tends to become unnecessary. This would seem to be a very desirable result, for to any one who seriously studies the situation it is abundantly clear that a full supply of Christian literature in all the existing languages of Africa, including a complete version of the Scriptures, would take centuries to accomplish.

There is at present a pitifully meagre stock of books in most of the African missions. In many of them a native teacher might easily tie up the whole library in a pocket handkerchief. Intelligent converts soon exhaust the supply of reading matter, and it is not exceptional for a candidate for baptism to have read everything that has ever been printed in his language.

We may classify the books entered on our lists as follows :—First School Readers ; Books for Worship and Elementary Religious Teaching ; Bible Study Helps, Commentaries, etc. ; Christian Doctrine and Morals ; Science, History and Geography ; Stories ; Language Study. Judging by the length of the list of books published, the following languages would seem to be the best provided :—Arabic, Swahili, Ganda, Nyanja, Malagasy, Ronga, Chuana, Xosa (Kafir), Zulu, Suto, Ashanti, Hausa, Bangi, Yoruba, Kongo, Mbundu and Mongo-Nkundu.

Of the first two classes there is not much to be said. Quite half of the languages contain each no more than an elementary primer, school reader, hymn and prayer book, with a catechism and perhaps a book of Bible stories and such translations as *Line upon Line*, *Peep of Day*, and *More about Jesus*. It is impressive to find in so many lists *The Pilgrim's Progress*, translated and adapted, probably in an abridged form, as almost the only volume of religious literature for the infant Church, apart from actual versions of Scripture. The generosity of the Christian publishing societies that has made it possible to provide this and other European evangelical books in many African versions is a cause of true gratitude. But it ought to stimulate yet

wider plans for producing books specially written for African readers by authors who understand their mental outlook.

Of commentaries or expository lessons on the Bible there are few. Suto is the best provided with expositions of twelve New Testament books. The Uganda Church has notes on the four Gospels and on the Epistle of St James. The Kafir Church has the former and an exposition of the Epistle to Galatians. In Swahili there are commentaries on St Matthew and St Mark; in Mbundu, St Matthew only. Lessons on the Acts have been published in Yao; lessons on the Gospels and Psalms in Kongo and on Joshua in Mbundu. Of other books for Bible study only in Ganda is there anything so extensive as a translation of the Oxford *Helps*. In Suto is a small Bible dictionary and handbooks of introduction have been published in Ashanti, Chuana and Ronga. Books bearing the title *Life of Christ* are reported in half-a-dozen lists, and *Life of Paul* in two besides. In Ronga and also in Mongo appears the entry *Harmony of the Gospels*.

A great field lies open for the preparation of a series of Bible manuals specially edited by experienced African missionaries for the guidance and edification of the native Church.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the scope and value of books bearing titles that fall beneath the classification of Christian Doctrine and Morals without being able to read them in their African speech. One would think that some of them ought to be of great service in a far wider area than that of the particular language in which they have been published if only they could be translated. Contact with Islam is indicated in a number of entries. In Swahili are several books of Christian evidence and controversy with Islam, which might equally well serve the purpose of other areas in which Moslems are found, as also books and tracts dealing with Christian marriage, polygamy and alcoholism. But this entire section is very poorly

provided for by African missions as a whole. There is in Ganda a handbook on the Holy Spirit. Nyanja has *Helps for Christians* and also *Helps for Hearers*. Kongo has a book of Scripture passages to refute Romanism and there are several manuals of Church rules and practices.

It is beyond doubt that by co-operation the missionary societies working among tribes under similar conditions of civilization and Christian development could produce and profitably use much common literature of this order.

In both General History and Church History the range of knowledge open to the great mass of African Christians is extremely limited. Most of the languages have no books of history or biography outside the Bible. How difficult it must be for a convert to relate himself to the remote or recent past or to fill up the interval between the period of the Acts of the Apostles and the coming of the missionaries to Africa in the nineteenth or twentieth century. Only fifteen languages on the list seem to be furnished with any historical works. Uganda readers have a small volume of forty-four pages with the ambitious title of *The History of the World*. In Ashanti and in Accra there are *Stories from General History*, and in Swahili a *History Reader* and a translation of Creighton's *Rome*. There are several entries of the *Life of Mahomet*, one of the *Life of Luther* and two of the *Life of Livingstone*. For the church history such provision as has been made for the instruction of African Christians has been chiefly in manuals translated from English. Robertson's *Church History* appears in several lists. Cowan's *Landmarks of Church History* and Milner's *Church History* also appear. The title of one book, *Heroes of the Faith* in Chiswina, is specially suggestive of what might be expected to prove useful to African Christians.

There is evidently a great opportunity in this department for co-operative publishing by the missionary societies of short life stories of outstanding Christian men and women of many lands.

Geography is deplorably deficient. There are only

eight language lists in which it is mentioned. The most interesting title is one in Dualla, *The Country of the White Man as seen by the Black Man.* In Zulu have been published some accounts of missionary success in New Guinea and the South Sea Islands.

In Elementary Natural Science only eleven of the languages boast any publication. Judging from the few specimen copies of those that have come to hand the standard attained is not yet wholly satisfactory. Illustrations should be adequate and of good quality.

Of Stories, Proverbs and Folk-Lore there is a large supply, and a good many of the lists include one or more entries under this heading. They are probably the books most characteristic of Africa in the whole list, and one would like to be able to read them in the original. A large amount of interesting and valuable material for the enrichment of native African literature generally must be now confined to the separate languages which under a scheme of bilingual publication might be made a common possession.

For the learning of European languages, English, French or Portuguese, only six of the lists include books of grammar and conversation. There will certainly be a demand for more of these as Africa opens up.

It must be recognized that Christian missionary agencies by their very success as civilizing and educating forces are under obligation to provide with good literature the African readers whom they have trained. No time should be lost in establishing so strong a defence against the advance of Islam, and so sure a means of progressive strength for the African Church. It is a minor but not unimportant consideration that among African Christians there is a readiness to pay a fair price for their books. This fact relieves the burden of cost of production which is so serious in other parts of the world.

Perhaps it has been inevitable under all the circumstances that African Christian publications up to the present time have been foreign translations for the most part.

But we ought not to be content with that condition. We have to make progress toward the development of native authorship, and as an intermediate stage we must secure the preparation of literature specially for African use by competent and sympathetic writers who are familiar with African life and thought. The Literature Committee before referred to has very definitely committed itself to this policy.

What, then, about the future in the light of our present knowledge ? Plans must be made for hastening the production of what is needed for general education and Biblical teaching. To leave each separate language to the isolated efforts of the small group of workers in that language is to postpone for centuries the provision of literature for African people. By two processes the problem may be simplified.

The first is co-operation, by means of translations, to make available to all the best material that exists in any African tongue. The second is the employment of the European languages that prevail so widely in Africa under European colonial dominion.

By combining these two processes a still more rapid and effectual advance may be made. If in the production of literature, whether as school text-books or for the more advanced study of teachers, pastors and the general Christian community we could all agree to make common property of every manuscript and publish it not only for the restricted use of one African tribe, but in a bi-lingual edition having one of the European languages, English, French or Portuguese, as its companion version, we should immediately produce several important results.

1. We should make the subject matter available for use in other African languages, and so hasten the provision of what is most needed for all the Christian communities in the same stage of growth living under similar conditions.

2. We should make every publication saleable in a larger area.

3. We should further the learning of European languages by Africans and the learning of African languages by Europeans.

4. We should in the most natural manner promote the selection and survival of the fittest of the African languages themselves.

Bi-lingual books, as every student knows, are a very old institution, well consecrated to Christian uses and they have already been proved a practical success in Africa. The Literature Committee is now promoting an experimental issue of bi-lingual editions of text-books in French and Congo languages. A handbook on Tropical Hygiene, First Aid and Home Nursing prepared for use in the Yakusu Mission of the Baptist Missionary Society near Stanley Falls, Upper Congo, has been revised and edited in French by Dr Henri Anet and a Belgian physician, and is being printed, fully illustrated. The standard version, in French, is on the left-hand page of the book, the corresponding Lokele version on the right-hand page. The French will be stereotyped and used with various other Congo versions in successive editions. A Portuguese edition will also be prepared in a similar manner for use in Portuguese Angola. If this experiment meets with the success that is expected it will open up the way for rapid advance with similar publications.

Within British territory, the opportunity of getting their books in bi-lingual English and African editions would be eagerly welcomed by the members of the native Church and the principle would be certainly approved by the officials and commercial classes from their different points of view. Every original new book so issued would be sought after by missions in every part of Africa. As a means of teaching English and so opening up the highways of universal literature to Africans, the method is self-evident. Missionaries from French-speaking countries who are working in any part of Africa could multiply the effectiveness of all they do for African literature if they

would prepare all their work in the French language and issue it in bi-lingual French-African editions.

The incomplete survey which has now been made has revealed immeasurable possibilities. For example, French-speaking Swiss scholars working as missionaries in Portuguese African territory are now producing books exclusively in the native language; if these were available in French, Portuguese and English bi-lingual editions they might help to spread light over the whole dark continent.

Even within the borders of any one large missionary organization working in different language areas of Africa, the establishment of a common policy and the setting up of a literary clearing-house would be great practical economy. Sometimes missionaries do not know what books are being written and published by their fellow-workers of the same society in other African languages, and months or years of laborious effort might be saved and better results achieved under such a system as the Literature Committee proposes to set up.

This summary of the result thus far obtained in the exploration of so vast a territory may deepen interest in the whole subject and may serve in bringing together into fruitful combination the devoted work that is being given in such unstinted measure to the enlightenment of the African mind. Here as elsewhere there remaineth yet much land to be possessed.

C. E. Wilson

NEGRO AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

By B. D. GIBSON

There is some soil that is naturally good, rich in chemicals, ready for the seed and needing only the plough and the harrow, but some by inattention and adverse circumstances has grown stony and starved and will not produce good grain till it has been manured and prepared. The farmer does not confine himself to sowing the seed but works to reduce the patches of stony ground and keep the thistles from seeding, so the missionary in foreign lands had long realized that he must turn his hand to many things beside the simple preaching of the Gospel if the ground is to be prepared for his preaching to have effect. Very often the people to whom he is sent have to be uplifted socially and economically and physically as well as spiritually.

Nowhere perhaps has the expression of the Christian idea of human life in these directions been so successful as among the negro population of the Southern States of America. The rural extension work there is not like missionary work, a voluntary effort dependent on private generosity. It is under the control of the public authorities assisted by special funds such as that administered by the General Education Board, but much of the inspiration has come from Hampton and Tuskegee, which though not denominational schools are in the truest sense Christian missionary institutions. The greatest achievement of these two institutions is beyond their own bounds in the work of their graduates in the remote and backward parts of the country. A striking illustration of this was given

in a small impromptu conference one evening lately at Tuskegee. This gathering was, incidentally, an example of the spirit of generous service which reigns as strongly here under coloured control as in Hampton where there is white leadership. ' Conference ' is too imposing a word for it—there were only four of us visitors from Great Britain, but Mr Campbell, the head of the Negro Extension Work, who has his headquarters at Tuskegee, called together six of his workers at a day's notice to talk to us. We sat in a corner of a class-room at Tuskegee, with the desks in the darkness behind us and the walls decorated with children's dresses and bonnets made down from old things of their elders, basket work and other samples of the industry of the present students. Mr Campbell (whose full title is Field Agent for Negro Extension Work) presented his colleagues in turn and each told of his own work as if it were the most ordinary thing under the sun, but also the most delightful and interesting thing that anyone could do.

We sat with our pencils busy and wishing we knew shorthand. But no verbatim report could convey the impression made on us by these men and women with their living personalities. Tall Mr Campbell towering over his smaller associates as he brought them forward in front of the little circle to tell their tales, gentle quiet Miss Rosa Jones, and Miss Coleman whose humorous way of putting things made her points particularly vivid. It is impossible to attempt to reproduce the speeches, but the substance will be suggestive to missionary workers whose thoughts have been running on the lines of agricultural and social progress.

The extension work for both negroes and whites is under the Federal Department of Agriculture, certain funds being allocated by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 to supplement the efforts of the states. The work for coloured and for white people is separate, but the two are organically related and on parallel lines. It is organized

with the county as the unit.[1] Over the County Agents is a State Supervisor, who in his turn is under the Field Agent. The two Negro Field Agents (Mr Campbell at Tuskegee and Mr Pierce at Hampton[2]) are responsible to the (white) Director for the South for all Negro Extension Work in the Southern States. There are four divisions of the Negro Extension Service, though they are as yet completely organized in only one state—Farm Demonstration, Home Demonstration, Boys' Clubs and Movable Schools of Agriculture and Home Economics.

Farm Demonstration represents an approach not through the school to the growing generation, but direct to the farmer, who knows by experience what are the problems which meet him at every turn, who has to make a livelihood for himself and his family and is presumably therefore vitally interested in any method of increasing production. Theories are of no use to such a man. He has a profound disbelief in them. He works as his fathers worked and is convinced that the old methods are best, and if you talk till Doomsday you will not convert him. Yet this is just what the County Farm Demonstration Agent sets out to do. He first locates the strategic points in his district, then makes inquiries in these places and finds out in each a man who is approachable, open to new ideas, who enjoys a certain standing among his fellows and whose land is accessible to a large number of the neighbours. He talks to this man and persuades him to try the experiment of cultivating a patch of his land on new methods. This farmer is called a 'demonstrator.' The Agent then visits him once a month and the demonstrator cultivates his plot under the Agent's close direction. The surrounding farmers come to the field and meet the Agent when he comes. Some give in their names as willing to

[1] In America a county is a sub-division of a state varying considerably in size. About 30 miles square might be taken as an average in the South.

[2] Hampton and Tuskegee are recognized by Government and receive a certain annual grant. They are also used as the headquarters of the Negro Extension Work for the eastern and western divisions of the South respectively.

experiment also and they are enrolled as 'co-operators.' They watch the experiment and when they see the increased yield under new methods they begin to think there must be something in it after all. The Agent drives home the lessons by getting statistical returns of the yield and profits from farms run on the ordinary methods, compares them with the figures received from the demonstrator's plots and sets out a statement which appeals to the most conservative.

At first the Farm Demonstration Agent had a difficult time. Many of the rural negroes are superstitious, like most isolated country folk, and they were slow to take up new methods. They felt that no good could come from suggestions made by someone, coloured though he might be, who was paid by the Government and by white people to do this work. The white farmers in the remoter areas were not favourably disposed to the Negro Agent either, and he was thus between two fires. These prejudices, however, were gradually overcome, and since the war the number of agents and supervisors has very largely increased.

The great opportunity for the Farm Demonstration Agent came with the advent of the Mexican cotton boll-weevil, which destroyed the cotton crops over the whole South. Every farmer wanted to know how to get rid of this insect pest and was anxious even to try new methods and gladly accepted suggestions. When a beginning was made with cotton, the farmer's attention was turned to other crops—corn and potatoes—and to his live stock and orchards and to terracing land to prevent the soil being washed away. Cotton has been the only crop for so many years in the South that the soil is seriously impoverished and new crops are essential. The demonstrator farmer undertakes to try improved methods on all those lines, and as this experiment succeeds other farmers learn from his work.

In Macon County, where Tuskegee is situated, farm

demonstration work has passed the first tentative stage, and once a month a meeting is held at Tuskegee, the county centre, for representative farmers, one from each district. These are influential, live men who are presidents of the farmers' meeting in their own communities. They are responsible for taking back to their villages the ideas they gain in the monthly county meeting and for seeing that these are carried out in practice. The County Agent visits regularly these farmers' meetings in the different villages.

Over the County Agents there is in some places an extra Supervising Agent who has charge of several counties within the state and who is under the State Supervising Agent. This whole work is still fairly new, and at first agents who were quite untrained had to be appointed. The Supervising Agent had to make up for this lack of knowledge and training by monthly visits to every County Agent. This is a most important part of the work, for in an isolated district a man is apt to grow stale and fall into ruts.

Co-operative marketing and shipping of hogs has been so successful in the State of Alabama that Farmers' Co-operative Associations have been started to deal with this.

At first there were only men agents, but it was not long before it was realized that the rural problems could not be solved without the women, that it was no use showing the farmer how to make more money from his crops if his wife did not know how to improve the standard of living at home and benefit from the extra money. The women agents are chiefly concerned with all that affects the home. There has thus been developed a second branch of the Rural Extension Work, namely, Home Demonstration. As the men are engaged in showing the farmer how to grow more and better corn, the women agents are showing his wife how to cook it better, how to balance meals and vary dishes. The home garden usually falls into the

woman's province and the woman agent gives hints as to how it can be made to yield food all the year round and how the vegetables can be preserved for seasons when they are scarce. These Home Demonstration Agents are mostly women who have been teachers and who have taken a short special training course in addition to their teacher training. The organization corresponds exactly to that of the men, namely, state agents with county agents under them, and they work in the closest co-operation with them under the State Extension Work Director.

The woman agent brings new ideas for labour saving and money saving—simple suggestions for making out of the common materials that abound on every farm some of the necessaries that would otherwise have to be bought at much expense and trouble from the distant town and even some of the comforts which would otherwise be unknown. She holds demonstrations at the home of one of the farmers, and the neighbours come bringing their share of the necessary materials so that each may make the experiment for herself and prove its value. Occasions often arise also which enable the Agent to give suggestions as to the general care of the home, ventilation and care of the sick. She also organizes poultry clubs for women and girls, the members reporting at each meeting the success of their work, the number of eggs and the number of chickens raised.

Thirdly, there are boys' pig and corn clubs organized under the supervision of a State Club Agent for negro boys. These clubs are carried on by the men county agents with the assistance of the rural school teacher and in holiday time of a local leader. Each boy gets his father to let him have a little pig or a small plot of ground or both. The boy is then responsible for the purchase of food and seed and for the subsequent welfare of his pig or corn plot. He keeps a record of all transactions, and the final profit goes into his own pocket. Prizes are often given for the finest pig and the largest number of bushels of

corn per acre. Last summer the Alabama agents were asked to pick out the brightest boys and girls in their clubs and bring them up to Tuskegee for ten days for a short course of agricultural instruction. Ninety-five came and for those ten days were part of that great institution. The impression was profound and a large number stayed on as regular students. They had many of them come up from the backwoods and had heard very little before of Tuskegee, and its work and ideals.

The fourth division, the Movable School, has done fine pioneer work in the past and there is still a great sphere for it in the remoter rural districts. In many places it was the first introduction to the idea of the education of the negro and it met with immediate acceptance. Though its chief value is as a pioneer, this Movable School supplements the work of the Farm and Home Demonstrators in that it does intensive work on one farm, leaving behind some completed project to serve as a model and inspire the community to carry on for themselves what they have learned. It sometimes leads to the farmers uniting to buy a set of tools and set up a common workshop to which all have access, and further perhaps to send their boys to Tuskegee to become proficient in the use of these tools. The school itself consists of a van (a motor in these days) which travels round with a full equipment, including a man and woman demonstrator. Where there are local Farm and Home Demonstration Agents, they are called in to help. The country homes are often very meagre and uncomfortable, just a bare wooden house raised off the ground a foot or two but with no steps from the door, no fence round it, no shade, no outbuildings and no sanitary conveniences, too hot in summer and too cold in winter.

The school is held at a farm home which has been selected beforehand as affording the largest opportunity for teaching just what that community needs.[1] The

[1] There are no villages in the South, as the houses are scattered over the countryside. 'Community' is a vague term but there is no other.

owner or landlord is asked to furnish lumber for steps, wire netting and whitewash, etc. (a landlord is usually willing to give the materials for the sake of having the repairs done). Then the van and workers arrive. They study the premises and note not only how to effect the repairs and improvements but also the best way of using them to push home the lessons. Notices have been sent round beforehand to the surrounding farmers, and when they come they are divided into groups in different parts of the premises. In one corner farm repairs are being taught, the actual necessary repairs to that farmer's implements, and the farmer stays till he has learned what he can, then he moves on to another group which is learning to terrace land, etc. The whole school stays in one place for a week, sometimes longer. At the end the farmer has had his house repaired and improved at the expense of the landlord (who provided the lumber), the landlord has had his property improved at the expense of the community (who did the work), and the community has learned how to do these things for itself, and everyone is pleased.

The children do not know how to play, and the church generally does not approve of such things, but the Movable School Agents go straight to the fountain-head and persuade the local preacher himself to lead in some game. This is an important function, though it may seem trivial, for the trend towards the cities nowadays is greatly accentuated by the dulness of the country, where there are no amusements for the young people at all.

While the men are on the outside repairing and improving sanitary conditions, the women are busy in the inside of the house. The furniture may be scanty and ugly, so they set to work to make some in the simplest and cheapest way, but making things pretty at the same time and cleaning up generally. Then they take up the cooking and serving of the meals. One woman says, ' But my children won't eat vegetables,' ' Then why not try cooking them another way ? ' says the Agent. All sorts

of handy arts come next, making over old clothes, fly papers, plaiting rag rugs, soap-making, etc.

This kind of school can only be held at certain times of the year when work on the farm is slack, but all the intervals between sessions of the Movable School are filled with ' follow-up ' work. The men may be establishing the community workshops mentioned above, while the women are helping in home and church. During the heavy season of farm work the Agents go and stay for a night or two at a time with the farmers with whom they have made friends before. Usually the womenfolk are all called upon to help in the fields at these times, and as a consequence the meals are apt to be scanty and badly prepared. The Woman Agent explains the special need of good nourishing food just at the time when everyone is working hard and shows what a fireless cooker and some scientific planning can do.

By means of the church rest-room the Agent can spread new ideas and standards of comfort and beauty to more homes than she can possibly visit herself. In country places the people come from a distance to the morning service and stay all day until the second service. A rest-room is therefore a practical necessity and it can be made comfortable and attractive—the bare boards want rugs, the hard wooden benches want backs to them and perhaps a cushion. Corn ' shucks ' twisted into strands and plaited for seats and backs will make big comfortable chairs at no more cost than stiff wooden ones. A mirror, too, is a detail which the masculine mind despises and which many women are ashamed to concede. Miss Coleman, however, boldly tells her friends among the negro farmers' wives, ' If we could only see how we look, we would be a little better.' So she puts a mirror in the church rest-room and persuades Mr Farmer to buy a piece of mirror, frame it and hang it up for Mrs Farmer to tidy her hair by, and eventually he is persuaded himself to submit to the wholesome discipline every morning with marked results. When the women have not enough money to buy comforts for

the rest-room, they bring eggs or other produce on Saturdays, sell them and collect the money till they can buy what is required.

The women agents spend many a night with the farmers' wives and give them any amount of good advice. They tell Scripture stories and draw all sorts of practical applications, right down on the spot, to illustrate and press home what they are trying to teach about the care of the home, cleanliness and cooking. Stories and unexpected applications stick far better than any theory, particularly if there is a touch of humour in them, and the memory of them will arrest the most persistent offender long after the Agent has gone.

In counties where there is no Home Demonstration Agent some of this work is done by the County School Supervisor. These School Supervisors are travelling teachers who work under the State Director of Education for the improvement of the Negro rural schools. There are similar supervisors for ' white ' schools and they belong to the public educational department and not to the rural extension system, though the two departments work closely together. The field to be covered is so large that school supervisors are not usually appointed to counties where there is already a Home Demonstration Agent, and *vice versa*. These supervisors were started on the initiative of the General Education Board and another private fund known as the Jeanes Fund, but they have been from the beginning a part of the education system in every state in which they have been employed. Many of them are supported entirely by their state, but where the Jeanes Fund still has a share in the payment of their salaries, the term Jeanes Fund Supervisor is used. They are almost always women and the work they do is left largely to their own initiative. The parents are encouraged to come to the village schoolhouse of an evening. Social meetings are held, when they have spelling matches, children against parents, or some other amusement. Once

the fathers insisted on having a debate because the teacher had started one with the boys. At first they used to come just as they came in from work in the fields, but now they wash and dress up in their best, and there is no suggestion that they are too tired after their day's work.

Short courses are held at times at Tuskegee for the Jeanes Fund Supervisors and for the other extension workers, but all the time there is the closest co-operation between the agents of the Department of Agriculture and the agents of the school system. They each know the other's programme and agree to emphasize certain points at certain times so that each drives home the other's point from a different angle.

Conditions in the mission field are no doubt very different from those in the Southern States, and missions cannot command the resources which are being devoted there to the rural extension scheme. But one of the striking things about the work which has been described is its adaptability to very simple conditions of life. The missionary spirit and enthusiastic zest in service which characterize it must strike everyone who has the opportunity of studying it at first hand.

B. D. Gibson

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHINA

By Mrs C. R. CARSCALLEN

One of the most outstanding effects of the Revolution in China over nine years ago was its influence on the status of women. There is a new status of women in China, although as yet it does not touch the vast majority of her women. And what may be said of the womanhood of China is probably true, to a greater or less extent, of the women of Japan, India, the Near East, Africa and other non-Christian lands.

Everywhere in China one sees signs of the new era—women's clubs and societies; magazines for women, edited by women; women's conventions for improvement and self-assertion. There is also a new attitude toward women on the part of men. This is not by any means universal or even general, but a few of the best and most enlightened men are willing and anxious to accord a new place to women. They take an interest and a pride in the accomplishments of the women-folk and encourage them in their ambitions. In this matter we may certainly count upon reaction. Nevertheless, much will have been gained.

Another indication that a new day has dawned for Chinese women is seen in the craving for education among the under-privileged adult women. It is pathetic to see sometimes the eagerness with which those whose early chances have been few grasp every opportunity to learn. This great hunger for something better in culture and life than they have known is full of significance for the future. Undoubtedly, these women will see to it that their daughters have a better chance in life than they themselves have had.

The new status of women in China is particularly evident in the large increase in the number of girls' schools, both

under government and mission control, and in the remarkable increase in the attendance at such schools. In a recent retrospect of the work of the West China Christian Educational Union for the six years, 1913–1919, the General Secretary pointed out that, 'while the increase in boys (in the schools registered in the Union) had been about threefold, the increase in girls was over sevenfold; in a land where education for girls has not been popular, this fact speaks much for the influence of Christianity in the putting of men and women on a level.'

George Matheson divides the life history of every woman, as well as that of her sex, into three periods of sociological development. First, the primitive stage, the period of unreasoning, childlike docility, when she is little more than a slave; second, the stage of self-consciousness when the woman awakens to a realization of her powers and seeks for means of self-assertion and expression (personal ambition is the keynote of this period); third, the stage of voluntary self-contraction, when the struggle for the development and expression of her own personality is merged into a struggle for the life of others. Now whether one agrees with the lines on which this process is defined or not—and in any case these stages would seem to refer equally to men—they may be applied with some significance to the present development of Chinese women.

A great many oriental women have passed the first period—the primitive stage. One does not hear much now-a-days of the doctrine of the threefold subordination. Great numbers of China's women have already entered upon the second stage of their development. They are asking for liberty, for education, for amusement, for power, even for political rights. But the great majority, even of the upper and middle classes, are without the training which could enable them to use power, and lack the moral safeguards to character which would allow them to enjoy greater liberty with safety to themselves. No one can fail to appreciate the dangers of this transition period:

it has the elements of tragedy in it. New China is ready to concede much in the matter of the position, rights and privileges of women, and in the time of rapid changes following the Revolution it is not surprising that some Chinese women have been thrown off their balance.

One of the new women's magazines, edited by a Chinese woman of the 'advanced' type, appeared in its first number with a gaily decorated cover representing a young Chinese woman in hunting costume, shouldering a gun and snapping her fingers to a dog at her heels. Hundreds of these newly-awakened women imagine that they are proving their emancipation when they try to throw off the restraints of home life. We must remember, however, that all this is but the swing of the pendulum after centuries of unnatural repression. The craving for freedom and for the realization of her own powers are really most hopeful signs. The situation is full of promise if only these restless souls may be guided into the third stage of development—the larger liberty of Christ and the joy of service for others.

This is the task of Christian missions. It is not always easy for us, with all our background of Christian civilization, to realize that this third stage of development is really higher than the second; that 'only the bond are free'; that 'whosoever will save his life shall lose it.' If we are slow to learn these things we must not be surprised if the women of the Orient do not grasp them readily. Some few of China's women have already reached this third stage of development. They are not many in number but they are very great in significance. One thinks of such splendid leaders as Dr Ya Mei Kin of Tientsin, Mrs Chu of Shanghai, Dr Mary Stone of Central China, and others of whom the world does not hear because they are not in the public eye. These women, products for the most part of Christian schools, are the hope of the future. But how pitifully few their number for the leadership which China so much needs!

How to meet the present crisis and seize its opportunities are pressing problems for foreign mission boards and their representatives. We speak of 'a present crisis.' In missions, one is always hearing of 'a present crisis.' In missionary sermons and addresses, one constantly hears such phrases as 'unique present situation,' 'unprecedented opportunity,' 'surpassingly momentous task.' But in the matter which we are considering the crisis seems peculiarly evident. Certainly its special opportunity will speedily pass.

> There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

The words 'shallows and miseries' well describe the lot of these women, bringing to mind a picture of the courtyards, zenanas and harems of the East. We must seize the opportunity which the present crisis offers and bring these women to know the One in whose teaching alone the womanhood of the race has ever found a fair chance. The urgency of the matter, in relation to the young women of China, can scarcely be over-emphasized. A few years more of mere government schools for girls will mean a great mass of half-educated, 'emancipated' young women, taught a flimsy system of ethics, with no religion for the most part, impatient of home duties and claims, and fitted very inadequately to meet the crises of life. The old controls are gone, and while they were not ideal they were better than none. The walls which guarded the young girl in the past are being rapidly destroyed, and the spiritual walls which will protect her purity and her peace are rising very slowly. Unless the Christian ideal of womanhood comes to be a power in the land, the latter state of Chinese women will be worse than the first.

As to how the various Women's Boards are meeting the new opportunities for women's work in China, this is not the place to write at length. However, there are one or

two points in connexion with the educational work for girls which seem especially significant.

There is a new emphasis on primary schools—the foundation work. More and more, missionary educators are coming to see that the proper place to begin is at the kindergarten. We try to work without a proper foundation when we begin to educate children when they have all unconsciously settled for themselves principles that shall dominate their whole afterlife in regard to right and wrong, vice and virtue, beauty and ugliness. Are we wise when we neglect the pleasant, soul-inspiring work of formation, and oblige ourselves to take up the discouraging and difficult and expensive task of reformation? The epoch point of all the ages was when Christ 'put a child in the midst' to remind His disciples that the kingdom of God comes through the gateway of childhood.

Another sign of the times is a new emphasis in educational work upon household science and kindred subjects. It is true in the Orient, as elsewhere, that girls who follow the same courses of study and take the same examinations as boys stand on a par with them. However, in recent years, educationalists in China have wisely followed the tendency in other parts of the world to give girls a somewhat different training from boys. Definite plans have been made to suit the training to the actual needs of the girls, so that their education will have some relation to the life from which they have come, and equip them more fully for the life to which they will go. And so there are carefully planned courses in household management in all its branches, including the care of children. This should mean much, not only to the girls themselves, but to the whole life of the community. If, as we are told, forty per cent of a man's efficiency depends on his wife, or at any rate upon his womenfolk, it will be no small thing to educate the girls of China to be successful homemakers.

The real progress of China, or of any other non-Christian land, may be measured by the progress of the women.

The countries of the Orient will never be able to take their place beside the nations of the West until a higher status for women is assured. Moreover, the great Woman's Movement of the Occident will never be complete until the women of the Orient stand side by side with their western sisters. 'The strength of a chain is in its weakest link.' This matter of the status of Chinese women is important in all its bearings, but particularly so in regard to the progress of the country itself. As one writer puts it: 'Just as Dante measured his advance in Paradise, not by consciousness of ascent, but by the evergrowing loveliness of the face of Beatrice, so China may well measure her steps of progress, not by railroad mileage nor industrial development, but by the new beauty, the new mental and spiritual graces glorifying the faces of her women.'

It is well to remind ourselves that in the matter of the development of oriental women we must not expect quick results. We are working for the future. The process of education is inevitably slow.

But the new status of women in China is a challenge to the Christian Church. It emphasizes again the importance and the urgency of Christian missions.

H. May Carscallen

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ASSEMBLY AT GENEVA

By NEWTON W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.

The ideal embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations is not new. What is new and significant is that the great majority of the nations of the world have signed a treaty—for the Covenant is a treaty—pledging their adherence to this ideal, and their co-operation in an effort to realize it.

What is the conception of international relations which finds expression in the League? In the past, with but few notable exceptions, the nations have looked upon each other as real or potential enemies, and have, therefore, felt compelled to erect military fortifications, to raise and train armies, to build navies and to provide themselves with all the equipment and paraphernalia for war, nominally for the purposes of defence, frequently for the purposes of offence. For the same reason they have formed alliances, more or less intimate, to protect themselves against similar alliances and so preserve what is known in diplomacy as 'the balance of power.'

The culmination of this conception of international relations and its most severe condemnation are to be found in the recent great war. The suffering and needs of humanity have compelled the recognition of a new and better conception of international relations. This new conception is that each nation should look upon every other, not as a real or potential enemy, but as a real or potential friend, and should substitute for competition in preparation for war, co-operation for the preservation of peace. The old conception was essentially pagan, the new is essentially Christian.

Is this new conception practicable? Is it possible to find a substitute for war as a means of settling international disputes? For more than a hundred years the people of Canada and of the United States have given expression to this new conception in their international relations. They have refused to look upon each other as real or potential enemies. They have resolved to look upon each other as friends. They have, therefore, refused to build fortifications along their common international boundaries; they have refused to place warships upon their common international waterways. The 'Unguarded Boundary' of 5400 miles between the United States and Canada is a standing testimony to the world that nations can live at peace one with the other and settle all their disputes by peaceable means. More than a hundred years of peace between the United States and the British Empire have not been made possible because there have been no disputes to be settled; there have been many such disputes, important, urgent, critical; but where diplomatic negotiations failed to effect an adjustment both nations have agreed that these disputes should be settled by arbitration. It is quite true that many citizens of each country have at times questioned some of these settlements, but all thoughtful men must agree that the worst settlement secured by peaceable means was better for both nations than the best settlement that could have been secured by either nation as a result of war. What has been possible between the United States and the British Empire for more than a hundred years should be possible for all civilized nations.

The Covenant of the League, like every other human document, may be imperfect; it perhaps should be amended in important respects. These amendments will come, if and when required, to enable the League to discharge properly its great functions.

The functions of the League may be divided into three classes:

(1) Its primary function is to preserve peace by providing a substitute for war as a means of settling international disputes.

(2) Its secondary function is to provide a means for international co-operation in many matters of common concern to the nations, co-operation which will remove causes of international friction and promote human welfare.

(3) The League is required to discharge certain duties under treaties of peace.

The Covenant contains provisions covering the following important matters, the observance of which should greatly contribute toward preserving peace.

(1) All the states, members of the League, agree that should a dispute arise between them which they are unable to settle by peaceable means, they will submit this dispute either to arbitration or judicial determination or to investigation and conciliation by the Council of the League, and in case the matter is referred to arbitration, they bind themselves to abide by the decision of the arbitrators, and in all cases they agree not to resort to war until three months after the decision has been rendered or the Council has made its report. This is the heart of the Covenant.

There is also the much discussed Article X.

(2) The members recognize that the ' maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.' They, therefore, agree to take steps towards the limitation of armaments.

(3) The members recognize that secret treaties are frequently one of the chief causes of international misunderstandings and strife, and they agree that henceforth every covenant or international engagement entered into ' by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall as soon as possible be published by it, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.' Strict adherence to this obligation is imperative or the old policy of secret treaties will revive.

(4) The provision for international co-operation in many matters of common concern should bring the nations together in the performance of certain common tasks and thus increase their knowledge of one another, and tend to remove the danger of misunderstandings which so frequently lead to war.

(5) The meetings of the Council and the Assembly, the former composed of nine members, the latter of all the members of the League, make possible what has been described as 'diplomacy by conference,' the actual and frequent meeting of the heads of states, where matters of international concern can be discussed freely, international difficulties explained and international goodwill promoted.

If the members in good faith carry out these provisions of the Covenant, the hundred years of peace enjoyed by the British Empire and the United States should become the common possession of all mankind.

What is there in the provisions of the League that should make a special appeal to the Christian leaders of the world ?

First, the League recognizes the essential unity of the races of men ; that God 'hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' If not explicitly, it certainly does implicitly, affirm the principle that each nation's welfare is a matter of interest and concern to every other, and each attains its own highest welfare, not by the loss and suffering of the other, but by co-operation with the other in promoting their common welfare.

Second, it substitutes right for might and reason for the sword in the settlement of disputes between nations. In addition to the provision for arbitration or conciliation by the Council, the Assembly at Geneva made provision for the constitution of a Permanent Court of International Justice, before which nations may go and have their disputes determined according to the very right and justice

of the cause rather than according to the strength and power of the litigants. The establishment of this court will be a great and practical step towards the establishment of 'public right' and of the 'rule of law' among the nations and a very real contribution to the cause of world peace.

Third, the mandatory system is the recognition of an entirely new principle in international relations, a truly Christian and humane principle introduced for the benefit of subject races.

The Geneva Assembly

The first Assembly which met at Geneva on the 15th of November 1920 was composed of delegates of forty-six nations, from all the continents and principal islands of the seas, and representing more than three-fourths of the whole human family. It was the most truly representative international gathering over held. The Assembly satisfied its friends and disappointed its enemies. Notwithstanding the initial difficulties of complete strangeness, difference in race, language, religion, past history and outlook on life, the Assembly in five weeks transacted more important business than any Parliament of any of the states there represented would have transacted in the same time. This was only made possible by the spirit of unity and co-operation which prevailed throughout the Assembly.

It is true there were differences of opinion among the delegates, but serious difficulties do not usually arise out of a frank interchange of opinions between men who are seeking to further a common object which they all have at heart. International difficulties have not usually arisen from the frank interchange of views between statesmen of the world; international difficulties have usually arisen because of matters which did not see the light of day, and because of things said and done in secret that would

not be said or done face to face. If the League of Nations accomplishes no other purpose than to provide an open forum in which great international questions can be frankly discussed by the statesmen of the world, it is an experiment well worth trying and most hopeful in its potentiality for good.

The greatest single achievement of the Assembly was the provision for the establishment of the new Permanent Court of International Justice, to which reference has already been made. When the statute passed by the Assembly is approved by the majority of the states, members of the League, which will probably be before the next meeting of the Assembly in September 1921, the Court will be established, and the Council and the Assembly will proceed to elect the judges.

Armaments. No question awakened greater interest at the Assembly than that of the limitation of armaments, and while some real progress was made, it was recognized that it was impossible to deal effectively and finally with the question without the co-operation of the great nations as yet outside the League, particularly the United States. The League, however, has taken certain important practical steps.

Disappointment has been expressed in many quarters that more radical action was not taken by the Assembly, but it must be recognized frankly that you cannot have a reduction in armaments on a large scale by the nations within the League while there are influential nations outside the League under no obligation to disarm and which may go on increasing their armaments. The question must be examined from a practical as well as a theoretical and sentimental standpoint. The co-operation of the United States is essential to any general scheme for the limitation of armaments.

Few questions are more important or urgent at the present time, and undoubtedly the United States, by reason of her strength and independent position as a

non-European state, has a great opportunity to lead in this movement so essential to the recovery of the world from the loss and wastage of the war and to the preservation of the world's peace. It is to be hoped that action may be taken at an early date which will lead to very large practical results, and the world will be spared the spectacle of the United States and Japan competing in an armament race which, as it appears to the outsider, can serve no useful purpose, and may lead to the same disastrous results as followed the competition of armaments in Europe.

MANDATES. Second only to the interest in the question of the limitation of armaments was that taken in the question of mandates. Article XXII of the Covenant provides :

> To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.
>
> The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

Provision is made for the constitution of a permanent commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates. This permanent commission will consist of nine members, the majority of whom shall be nationals of non-mandatory states.

At the Assembly a difference of opinion arose between the Council and the Assembly in reference to procedure. The Assembly Committee on Mandates felt that it could not deal effectively with the questions submitted to it without having before it the form of the proposed mandates.

On the other hand the Council contended that as the Council under the Covenant was the only body entrusted with the responsibility of settling the form of the mandates in case there was a difference of opinion, they could not delegate their authority to the Assembly and they should not submit the mandates to the Assembly Committee. The Council was acting within its rights in the course pursued, but it would be difficult to justify the Council's action on any sound grounds of public policy. The mandatories exercise their duties as mandatories 'on behalf of the League.' The form, therefore, of these mandates is of interest to all the members of the League, as they are indeed to the whole civilized world. There can be no valid objection to the form of the mandates being made public before final settlement, so that the Council in reaching a conclusion would have the benefit of the advice of the other members of the League and of the suggestions of all interested in the question. The fact that the principal members of the Council are mandatory states makes full publicity all the more important.

There are three classes of mandates, A, B and C. The A mandates relate to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, the B mandates to Central Africa, and the C mandates to South-West Africa and the South Pacific Islands.

The C mandates were approved by the Council while the Assembly was in session. A and B mandates are still under consideration by the Council.

The Mandates Commission made the following recommendations, which after protracted discussion were finally adopted unanimously by the Assembly as recommendations to the Council.

(*a*) *Recommendations regarding the Mandates Commission.*

1. The Members of the Commission should not be dismissed without the assent of the majority of the Assembly.

2. The Commission should contain at least one woman.

3. The mandatories should be asked to present to the Commission a report on the recent administration of the territories now confided to their care.

(*b*) *Recommendations as to Mandates A.*

4. The mandatory should not be allowed to make use of its position to increase its military strength.

5. The mandatory should not be allowed to use its power under the mandates to exploit for itself or its friends the natural resources of the mandated territory.

6. An organic law should be passed in the mandated territory as soon as possible, and before coming into force should be submitted to the League for consideration.

(*c*) *General Recommendation.*

7. Future draft mandates should be published before they are decided on by the Council.

There will be no greater test of the sincerity of the principal allied and associated powers than the final form of these mandates, and the manner in which the trust created by the mandates is discharged.

International Co-operation. The Assembly took action on a number of important matters coming within the secondary functions of the League, but space will not permit of a review in detail of these matters.

Article XXIII of the Covenant provides as follows :

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

(*a*) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations ;

(*b*) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;

(*c*) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;

(*d*) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;

(*e*) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connexion, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914–1918 shall be borne in mind ;

(*f*) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

It should be noted that final action under any clause of this Article is conditional upon the existence or negotiation of an international convention covering the particular matter.

An international labour organization has already been established under the labour clauses of the treaties of peace to endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children.

The important question of facilitating international communication and transit received very careful consideration at the hands of the Assembly, and the Assembly approved the constitution of a temporary advisory committee and the calling of an international conference to consider certain draft conventions and other questions relating to international communication and transit. This conference was held at Barcelona, Spain, in March 1921, and its results will be communicated to the members of the League and to the next Assembly.

The report of the Brussels Financial Conference was submitted to the Assembly and the recommendations of the conference received careful consideration. A temporary advisory committee on finance and economics was constituted and practical steps were taken towards assisting in the solution of the financial and economic difficulties which at present are paralyzing the activities of many European nations.

The question of health in its international aspects also received consideration; an international campaign against typhus in Central Europe was inaugurated, and an international health organization founded upon the present International Institute of Hygiene was sanctioned. The League took over the administration of the international conventions relating to traffic in opium and other narcotic drugs and the traffic in women and children, and the Assembly provided for calling an international conference to consider the latter matter and to report the results to the next Assembly. The mere enumeration

of these matters shows what a vital bearing this aspect of the work of the League may have upon the health and well-being of great masses of our humanity, and how deeply interested all who believe in the gospel of the Son of Man should be in the success of this great experiment in international co-operation for promoting human welfare.

ARMENIA. The question of Armenia has been engaging the attention of the Council and of the Assembly for many months. The responsibility for settling this problem does not properly rest with the League. It rests with the Supreme Council of the allied and associated powers. As, however, the Supreme Council invited the co-operation of the League, it has sought to render all possible assistance and it is to be hoped that as a result of the joint action of the Supreme Council and of the League, some practical solution will be found which will preserve the Armenian race and ensure to them a stable government in their ancestral home.

ADMISSION OF NEW STATES. The admission of new states was one of the most important questions which came before the Assembly. Every believer in the League is convinced that it should and must include all the principal powers and that the time will come when all the powers will realize their identity of interests. 'For the body'—of our humanity—'is not one member but many, and whether one member suffer; all members suffer with it; or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.'

Some seventeen new states applied for admission. The greatest interest naturally centred in the applications of the ex-enemy states, Austria and Bulgaria. Their applications required a careful investigation into the question of whether they had given evidence of a sincere intention of observing their international obligations as required by Article I of the Covenant. The Assembly Committee reached the conclusion that they had satisfied the conditions for admission and they were admitted without any

dissenting vote—some abstentions, but no dissenting vote. The admission of Austria and Bulgaria to the League is an important step towards the reconciliation of Europe and the re-establishment of sane conditions following the war. The movement for reconciliation, however, must not stop with Austria and Bulgaria. It must include all the ex-enemy states when they apply and comply with the conditions for admission. The wounds of the war cannot be healed, the world cannot be bound together by the gospel of hate. This is only possible by the gospel of brotherhood and of justice.

THE ATTITUDE OF ASIA. A very interesting and significant feature of the Assembly was the attitude of the Asiatic delegates. Japan's position is assured and she, therefore, is not apprehensive of the future. The other Asiatic nations have not the same strength or stability.

The allied and associated powers during the war declared they were fighting for peace, for justice, for the sanctity of treaties, and for the protection of small and weak nations. The League is the medium through which these great ideals are to be realized and the Asiatic peoples are looking to the League, and to the action of the western powers in connexion with the League, with hope and yet with apprehension—with hope, because they feel that if the western powers live up to their declared principles, it will mean a new and better day for the peoples of Asia ; with apprehension, lest in the reaction following the war, the western powers should forget or ignore the principles proclaimed during the war and go back to the old principles, the old policies and the exploitation of the weaker nations of the world. Millions in Asia and Africa will judge of the sincerity of the powers great and small by the fidelity with which they support the League and carry out in times of peace the principles they proclaimed during the war.

IS THE LEAGUE PRACTICABLE ? Everyone must admit

that the League is at present only an experiment, but an experiment of tremendous import to our humanity. If it fails, what is the alternative? Its chief enemies are not the common people, who must bear the principal burdens of war in every land, but those who live by the sword or who revel in the old methods of diplomacy and who prefer the might of great armies to the justice of impartial tribunals.

No one can view without grave apprehension the unfortunate and distressing conditions existing in many parts of the world, particularly in Europe, conditions in many cases more unfortunate and distressing than even existed during the war. If our present civilization is to be saved, another great world war must be averted. When one recognizes the awful loss of life and property through this war, the crimes and horrors that characterized it, the financial obligations which the nations were compelled to assume in carrying it on, and witnesses its after-effects in the present social, economic and industrial disorganization which is even now threatening our civilization in certain sections of the world, the man who says there is no substitute for war as a means of settling international disputes, that there is no better way for our humanity than the road along which it has travelled in the past, confesses to the utter bankruptcy of modern statesmanship and the failure of Christian civilization.

This is the time for faith and courage, not for scepticism and fear. Statesmanship is not bankrupt and Christian civilization has not failed. The Assembly at Geneva has demonstrated that the League is both a hopeful and practical experiment for providing a substitute for war as a means of settling international disputes. If all the great powers were to come into the League with the sincere intention to co-operate, that in itself should guarantee the success of the experiment, but even if other powers do not enter, and the League must continue its work in its present form with its present membership, it is still a

hopeful experiment, the most hopeful and practical yet tried, and is deserving of every encouragement and support. Every lover of peace and of international justice should seek to strengthen and improve the League rather than destroy it.

The future of the League will depend not so much on the attitude of soldiers and statesmen as upon the public opinion of the world. A great opportunity is presented to the Christian leaders in every land to aid in the creation of an intelligent and sound public opinion which will demand that in the future the Christian and not the pagan spirit shall govern in our international relations, and that the society of nations which our humanity has only secured after over two centuries of effort is not sacrificed to political or national jealousies, but is improved and strengthened so that it may accomplish its great and beneficent purposes for mankind.

The experience of more than one hundred and thirty years reinforces the urgent appeal of Bentham in his *Plan for a Universal and Perpetual Peace.*

The objection, and the only objection, to the plan of a peace that shall be universal and lasting is its apparent impracticability—that it is not only hopeless, but hopeless to such a degree that any proposal to this effect deserves to be called 'visionary and ridiculous.' It is said that the age is not ripe for such a proposal. Then 'the more it wants of being ripe, the sooner we should begin to do what can be done to ripen it.' Who that bears the name of Christian could refuse to assist with his prayers? What pulpit could refrain from seconding the author with its eloquence? 'Catholics and Protestants, Church of England men and Dissenters, may all agree in this, if in nothing else. I call upon them all to aid me with their confidence and their support.'

Newton W. Rowell

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

PAPERS RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DYARCHY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. With an Introduction by L. CURTIS. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 31s. 6d. 1920.

IT is certain that the work of Christian missions in India will be profoundly affected by the new political conditions which the experiment of dyarchy brings into being. Even therefore if the papers put together by Mr Lionel Curtis in this volume are intended primarily for the student of politics and constitutional law they deserve the close consideration of missionaries and those interested in missions. At the same time a writer in this Review will be expected to regard the book from a special standpoint; he has to keep in mind the question how the process which the book discloses bears upon the other process with which the Review is concerned—the propagation of the Christian faith.

The documents comprised in the book show how the idea of a transference of the government in India to the people of the country by departments arose in 1915 in the *Round Table* Group, of which Mr Curtis was the moving spirit, and how it first took shape in the memorandum drawn up by Sir William Duke in 1916 (now first published). The embryology of this new system, the process by which it was conceived and brought to operative reality, has more than a merely historical interest. In the story of its genesis the interests and principles which have informed it are made plain.

For the idea of responsible government, of ordered political freedom, Mr Curtis, one feels, has a devotion, a sober enthusiasm which is close to religion. Like the prophet and the missionary, he too is out to propagate a faith and bring a kind of salvation to men. The good which he desires for them does not seem identical with the good which the missionary has in view. Yet perhaps reflection will show that the two goods are not rival alternatives but are mutually complementary. For if it is the object of missionary endeavour to bring men into such relation to God that they become new men in the principles and purposes of their lives, such moral

renovation ought to show itself in all their relations to their fellow-men. The inner liberty with which Christ sets men free can indeed co-exist with a state of political subjection or social servitude, as it did under the Roman Empire; yet the renewal of character fits men to be the citizens of a free state, and if we deprive them of the opportunity to exercise those powers and faculties which are implied in the free state we are denying them what they have a right to claim. On the other hand, the success of any constitutional scheme, as Mr Curtis would no doubt allow, depends on individuals being animated with the will to serve the community; selfishness, shown either in dishonesty or in slackness, may prevent the most perfect contrivance of government from working. But the man who has come into a right relation to God is just the man whose life revolves, not upon an egoistic centre, but upon the principle of service. The element of law, which appears in Mr Curtis's book clothed in the light of an ideal dignity, is needed for the perfection of human life. Sermons and religious literature rightly dwell upon love as the essence of Christianity and the proper relation of man to man. It is well to be reminded that this love is not shown merely in spontaneous and spasmodic impulse, is not something merely diffuse and sentimental, but goes with a reverence for ordered obligation. Love may be higher than justice, but in the furtherance of justice love may find its employment.

It would be difficult to prove to any one who questioned it that the state of the free citizen, who has a part in controlling the authority which he obeys, is a higher state than that of the subject of an autocracy. If any one doubts it, perhaps in reading Mr Curtis's book they may catch the infection of his prophetic fervour. A more common attitude is that of the people who would admit readily that the state of the free citizen was the higher one, but would question whether the peoples of India, as they now are, are capable of democracy. No doubt to some who have come to know at close quarters the weaknesses and limitations of the great mass of the people of India the whole scheme of dyarchy seems to be framed on abstract theories and to leave out of account the hindering conditions of the real world. Perhaps those who so dwell upon the weaknesses and limitations of the Indian people fail to realize the weaknesses and limitations, in spite of which various degrees of democracy have somehow been got into working in the West. The achievements of men in political organization are everywhere very imperfect

affairs; yet we do not despair in our own case of overcoming progressively our own weaknesses and limitations, and if Mr Curtis has built on the faith that the Indian people, given the chance, may progressively, with experience and practice, overcome their present weaknesses and limitations, that faith, we see, is shared by many Englishmen whose knowledge of India is at any rate as extensive as that of the pessimists.

In conclusion one may point to an aspect of this book which has a close bearing on the work of all Englishmen in India, whether as civil servants or as missionaries—the disclosure it may offer to any Indian reader of the inner working of one English mind which has been behind the Reforms. It is well that the spirit here exhibited, so admirable in its devotion to the ideals of justice and liberty, so free from racial narrowness, and at the same time so conscious of the value of facts, of systematic inquiry and verification, so calmly steadfast in its will to know the truth, so ready to be corrected and to learn, should be shown for what it is. We are perhaps sometimes inclined to be impatient when Indians fly, as it seems to us, into causeless suspicions and alarms at some well-intentioned move on the English side. But we must remember that such suspicions and alarms are natural to people moving in an environment they can only imperfectly see, in a twilight which may give a dubious look to any common object. Because it may seem to us perfectly plain what is in the mind of our countrymen on some particular occasion, it does not follow that Indians have the same opportunity for knowing. The mind of each people may often be more or less of a twilight to the other and possibly such obscurity gives rise to causeless suspicions on our side no less than on theirs.

The only method by which the doubts of Indians can be overcome is that of opening our activities and our intentions to the full daylight. If these papers show the temper in which Englishmen are henceforth going to approach the task of co-operation with Indians in the building up of a free India, one may look forward with good hope. Before this solid and persistent honesty, this earnest candour, flimsy suspicions and misrepresentations must, one would think, in the end fall away.

EDWYN BEVAN

LONDON

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

DER ISLAM UND DIE CHRISTLICHE VERKÜNDIGUNG. Eine missionarische Untersuchung. Von GOTTFRIED SIMON, Superintendent. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. M. 40. 1920.

THIS handsome volume, finished amid the pressing duties of a German city pastor, is the outcome of two periods of life-work. The first period had its sphere among the Bataks in Northern Sumatra, where G. Simon was in constant touch with a comparatively young type of Islam, planted on animistic heathenism. The personal experience gathered there was laid down in his book *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt*, which was reviewed in these pages in July 1912. The second period found him a professor on Islam and Missions to Moslems in the Theological School at Bethel, near Bielefeld, his task being to introduce his pupils to a broad study of Islam and of the missionary problems connected with it. The present volume shows how he tried to fulfil this task, combining the experience of the missionary with historical and theological scholarship.

Those who have seen W. A. Rice's *Crusaders of the Twentieth Century* know the vastness of the ground to be covered. First of all, the Christian missionary enterprise among Moslems has a history of more than a thousand years. Of this long period, Mr Simon gives a very interesting sketch, occupying ninety-five pages of his book. While reading this part, one is strongly impressed by the correlation between the attitude of the Church towards Islam and the inner condition of the Church itself. Ignorance and contempt, which have so often been fatal to the relations both between nations and religious communities, had their full sway for centuries. Peter Venerabilis is the first who professes to be writing for love of Moslems, but Francis of Assisi seems to have been the leader in the influence of love on this as on other fields. To Raymund Lull it was left to combine the functions of a missionary with those of the scholar dealing with Islamic thought. Half a millennium later we find the same combination in two great Protestant missionary champions, Henry Martyn and Gottlieb Pfander. In his famous *Balance of Truth* Pfander abandons the old method of abuse of the opponent, carrying on the controversy with purely spiritual weapons. It is instructive to read this historic sketch, although it does not make us proud of ourselves.

The battle between Christianity and Islam would not be so fierce if the two religions had not the large common ground of mutually acknowledged truth, while there exists an irreconcilable divergence on vital points. This is what makes doctrinal controversy so hard and at the same time so unavoidable. Mr Simon, as Mr Rice, gives the main part of his book to this subject, dealing with four of the most crucial problems: revelation, the doctrine of God, the mediatorship of Muhammad, and the life to come. No problem, perhaps, is more characteristic of the situation than that of revelation. The writer of these lines vividly remembers a round table talk which took place in a mission house at Cairo, in the spring of 1906. The question was: How can the Christian missionary meet the difficulty arising from the Moslem doctrine of revelation? The doctrine centres in the belief in a holy book for which divine inspiration is claimed in the most mechanical sense possible, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that oriental Christians, both ancient and modern, are given to the same unspiritual theory. How can we overcome it? The only hope is that we set truly spiritual thought against the unspiritual, living revelation against the dead one. But how slow is our own progress in this direction!

Coming to the doctrine of God, we find a very similar situation. Is the Moslem right as he claims to possess the full and final self-revelation of God, or is his but a poor remnant of some richer knowledge which was in the possession of others? If this be the case, why did Muhammad receive but fragments from those who ought to have passed on the whole to him? So Christendom is co-responsible for the deficiency of Islam. We come to the same conclusion when we consider the crude notions of the divine Sonship of Christ, of Mary the mother of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or even the deliberate rejection of the Cross of Christ. It is tragic indeed that at this centre point of Christian truth it should prove nearly impossible to conquer Moslem prejudice.

Ultimately, the knowledge of God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, as set forth in the New Testament, must be victorious. It will be decisive along the whole line. But we must have it ourselves. The way to Christ has been barred by the guilt and error of centuries. How can it be opened again? There are some factors in the Moslem world of to-day which seem to be working for us, such as the feeling of humiliation or even of shame as the thinking Moslem compares his own stagnant world with the freer and happier world of the

Christian, or the movements for higher education and for the uplift of women. But these things can be signs of an awakening of Islam as well as of its decay. After all, what is it that will secure final victory? We believe, with Mr Simon, that this can only be the Gospel of Christ preached in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. To become fully qualified for this service, no price can be too high. It may involve the re-thinking of our own Christian thought and the laying of stronger foundations in Christian theology. But the end will be a new experience of the exceeding glory that belongs to the ministration of righteousness.

FRIEDRICH WÜRZ

BASEL

A SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY LEADER

THE LIFE OF ANDREW MURRAY OF SOUTH AFRICA. By J. DU PLESSIS. London: Marshall. 15s. net. 1920.

ANDREW MURRAY was an eminent South African. He was born in Graaf-Reinet, Cape Colony, in 1828; his father was a minister of the Church of Scotland who, as a young man, accepted a call to serve in the Dutch Reformed Church; his mother was of German, Dutch and Huguenot extraction. He was educated for seven years in Aberdeen and took a theological course at Utrecht, whence after three years of study he was ordained at The Hague in 1848—on his twentieth birthday—and returned to South Africa to take up ministerial work. In him were fused the Scottish and South African strains, and this aided him in playing a courageous and moderating part in the affairs of his people and in the convulsion through which his land passed. Had he felt free to take up public responsibility to any extent he would possibly have become a conspicuous figure, but he chose rather to concentrate upon evangelistic, educational and missionary work in connexion with his own Church. His long life—he died in 1917—covered a notable period in the evolution of South Africa. As a young man he faced the privations and dangers of long journeys from his base at Bloomfontein to visit settlers across the Vaal, and afterwards for forty-six years he lived at Wellington, Cape Colony, from whence his chief work was done. He was immovable in his adherence to the ideal of independence for the Boer States, whose feeling of nationality, he said, was asserting itself and mingling with religious sentiment. Before the war

between Great Britain and the South African Republics he addressed an impassioned appeal to England for peace, and he wrote on the same subject some notable articles in the South African press. He fought his battles also—but these chiefly in his earlier years—against 'liberalism' in theology as it emanated from Socinian or other sources in Holland and elsewhere; he fought personally and also as the champion of his Church. But it is not as the patriot or theologian that his name will live, but rather as the saint and missionary leader. If this means that the range of his influence was somewhat circumscribed, it means also that he appealed to a group and a class whose intensity of veneration for him still tells in many parts of the world.

His biography tends to overshadow the man Andrew Murray. There is too much of it, and certainly too much detail, save for members of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. There are, however, some portraits in the book which give a clue to those who did not know the man himself and kindle their curiosity to find out how and under what conditions character was formed. The unsparing pastor, the faithful witness, the sagacious mystic, the serene old harvester all appear, and it would be well for those who mean to read the text to carry these pictures in their mind. Certain it is that no one should judge Andrew Murray who has not read his writings. His letters as given in his biography are constrained in diction and lack all charm of style. They do not therefore give indication of that gift for delineating spiritual conditions which he possessed to a marked extent. He was a prolific writer. In all, we are told, he wrote 240 books and tracts in English and Dutch, and his works have been published in thirteen languages. In many respects his writings take their place with those of William Law, though he wrote more for his own generation and a particular type in it than did Law. But throughout the world *Abide in Christ*, *With Christ in the School of Prayer*, and many another of his books, will live long for those who want to search into the things of God. Andrew Murray wrote the *Key to the Missionary Problem*, a forceful plea for consecration and for intercession for missions, following on the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, and *The State of the Church* in 1911 after the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. It is told of him that when the nine volumes of the Report of that Conference were brought to him, he said that *The Home Base* volume interested him 'first and foremost' and caused

him to ask for 'seven times more prayer.' 'It is in the new intensity of the prayer of those who already pray that our hope lies,' he wrote. With his inspired sagacity he saw what the Home Base means to the distant field, and with his practical ability he applied himself to that aspect of missionary enterprise in particular. The South Africa General Mission, founded by him as the Cape General Mission, and the Huguenot College for the Training of Missionaries are the two missionary institutions which are permanently linked with the name of Andrew Murray.

M. C. Gollock

Wimbledon

CHAPTERS ON JESUIT MISSIONS

For the Faith. By Annie H. Small. London: Student Christian Movement. 4s. 6d. 1920.

It is much to be regretted that it should be so difficult to obtain really impartial books about the foreign missions of the Roman Church, and especially about the widespread work of the Jesuit missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The very admiration that their energy and devotion called forth provoked unlimited hatred and jealousy not only on the part of Protestants but even in the Roman Church itself. Professor Gabriel Monod in his introduction to the French translation of H. Boehmer's book on the Jesuits says, 'They have almost never been spoken of with serenity and impartiality, and nothing is more difficult than to know their history with exactitude.' Yet the materials for it exist in rich abundance in the archives of the Society. But these have been kept with such careful secrecy that, according to Professor Monod, no one outside the Society even knows where they are. These archives contain the numberless letters written home by the Jesuit missionaries from every quarter of the earth. The Jesuits themselves have made use of these letters and other documents in writing the history of their Society, but, as Professor Monod remarks, 'historians can never feel perfect security unless they are themselves admitted to work in the archives of the Society.' To get at the truth one must find one's way not only through the arguments and assertions of the Jesuits, put forth to meet the attacks of their enemies, but through the legends which have gathered round the heroic lives of the missionaries themselves. To read what

we know of their deeds and sufferings makes us only long the more for some really critical and learned account of what they aimed at doing, and what they accomplished. This Miss Small has not aimed at giving in the little book before us. She tells us in her prefatory note that she 'cannot offer a serious history.' She rightly feels it to be a grave loss that there is no book which tells the student of missions, 'simply and without bias,' the tale of the heroic missions of the Church of Rome. Her book shows what rich stores of interest and inspiration are to be found in the lives of some of these heroes and pioneers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is a book to encourage the reader to further study, and she gives a short list of useful books to assist him. Amongst them she does not include an interesting and now forgotten life of S. Francis Xavier by Henry Venn. It is interesting especially as being an attempt by the great evangelical to give an impartial account of Xavier drawn from his own letters, and includes some frank and outspoken letters, which do not as a rule appear in the life of the saint. Of course it also includes many criticisms of his ideas and methods. Miss Small refrains from criticisms and judgments. She is full, as any one must be, of the amazing devotion of these men—devotion so complete that it is impossible not to read of it without shame at the remembrance of our own calculating and often half-hearted methods. In an interesting summary Miss Small enumerates the 'forces exterior and interior' which 'sent forth armies of men of the first order to a lifelong exile; to labour joyfully in loneliness and hardship and apparent failure; or to suffer a slow torture or a cruel martyrdom the details of which we dare not venture to contemplate.' It does indeed seem presumption to attempt to criticize when we read of such devotion. Yet we shall not learn the full lesson of what these men have to teach us by their work all over the world, in Asia, South America, and Canada as we read of it in Miss Small's pages, unless we go further, try to understand their methods, the reasons of their successes, and the causes of their failures. Members of other churches cannot afford to ignore Roman Catholic missions either in the past or the present, or to condemn them, as they sometimes do, as mere teachers of error. There is much to be learned from them, and it is earnestly to be desired that we and they should so grow in sympathy and understanding that we may at least recognize that we are engaged in the one task of making Christ known to the world, and be ready

to learn from one another, by study and conference. Meanwhile we are grateful to Miss Small for showing to students what a fascinating field of study lies before them, if they will follow in the paths which she has opened up.

LOUISE CREIGHTON

HAMPTON COURT PALACE

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN INDIA

SCHOOLS WITH A MESSAGE IN INDIA. By D. J. FLEMING, Ph.D. London: Oxford University Press. 6s. net. 1921.

DR FLEMING, of the Union Theological Seminary, represented North America on the Commission on Village Education in India, and his pendant to an epoch-marking report is to be warmly welcomed, as illustrating its general principles by reference to specific experiments in India and Ceylon. Twelve types of mission schools are treated, half of them vocational and industrial, and they are followed by appreciations of such well-known indigenous efforts as the school of Dr Rabindranath Tagore at Bolpur, the Gurukula of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar, and the National High School at Madras. In every case Dr Fleming shows skill both in recognizing the distinctive ideals of the experiments and in stating them with a clearness and force that could not be excelled by the conductors themselves. While not oblivious to defects he sees and encourages the good. Noting the gracious habit of inward meditation morning and evening fostered in the boys at Shantiniketan he goes away 'with the deepened conviction that India at its best has for us of the West an emphasis that we need.'

The candour of this study is exhibited in Dr Fleming's description of the inefficiency of the average village school, whether state or missionary, and in his admission that the mission field is strewn with failures in the very difficult problem of providing industrial training. In most cases they have been started as a means of providing for destitute children. The practical training, as Mr W. Fyfe, the Government Inspector of industrial schools in the Madras Presidency, has lately pointed out, was until recently of a very haphazard nature. 'In multiplying the number of inefficient artisans and in many cases spoiling potentially good agriculturists to make poor carpenters or weavers,' writes this authority,

'they were not advancing the development of industry to any appreciable extent, and were in fact as little deserving of grant-in-aid . . . as the village carpenter or weaver teaching his sons and nephews in exactly the same if not more practical methods.' There has been manifest improvement in recent years, and Dr Fleming holds that it will be greatly promoted by continual discouragement of the slackness which is so marked a feature of Indian life in childhood and adolescence. A cause of past failure, he writes, has been 'that the lads are not drilled to hard work, are not sensible of steady, expert supervision, nor are they sufficiently impressed with the consequences of idling and of slovenly work.'

This sentence is typical of the virile note, the deprecation of methods tending to weaken self-dependence, the call for the awakening of stagnant minds, which runs through the book. Dr Fleming is deeply impressed by the efforts Bishop Azariah is making at Dornakal to meet the problem of providing leaders and workers in mass movement communities by training men who will support themselves by day and lead the community by night. He points out that the inadequately paid catechist or preacher too often goes ill clad, lacks ambition, and does not have food enough to be vigorous. There are many who feel that the system 'tends to slackness and demoralization to health and spiritual life.'

It is evident that Dr Fleming was most attracted by secondary schools which are steadily working for the uplift of the whole community through its educated members. By a singular circumstance the two schools he selects as having an exceptionally vigorous, manly atmosphere, and 'distinguished for the success with which they are training citizens for a country rather than merely graduates for a school,' are to be found at the extreme north and the extreme south, viz., the C.M.S. High School at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and Trinity College, Kandy, of which the Rev. A. G. Fraser is the honoured principal. Trinity College is marked by concentration of aim—that of the turning out of Christian citizens and workers—and the secrets of its success include a belief in the power of prayer and the enlistment of friends to exercise the ministry of intercession. By describing the best types of school he visited Dr Fleming has rendered a signal service to missionary educational enterprise.

F. H. Brown

AMONG THE OUTCASTES

THE CHAMĀRS. By GEO. W. BRIGGS, M.Sc. ('The Religious Life of India' Series.) London: Oxford University Press. 6s. net. 1920.

ONE can imagine Dr Farquhar waking up some morning in India and saying: 'It is a hot day: let us start a new series.' And the wonderful thing is, that series after series has been started, writers dug out and inspired to write for it, and the whole thing carried to success. Look at the lists of them. 'The Heritage of India' series, which in a scholarly and sympathetic way treats of the best things in Indian civilization; 'The Religious Life of India' series, which deals with Hindu and Mohammedan sects and the outcaste communities; 'The Religious Quest of India' series, a more ambitious sequence, treating of all the religions to be found in India to-day; 'The Inner Shrine,' a set of devotional books appealing to the mystic Indian mind; and beneath every list is written: 'various other volumes are under preparation in each of these series.'

Of all these varied groups of books, perhaps none will prove more useful than 'The Religious Life,' for its compactness and its cheapness bring it within the reach of every missionary. Already the sequence has produced an invaluable book by the Bishop of Madras, dealing with the gods of Southern India, and another by Mr Walter (whose too early death we all deplore) on the Ahmadiya Movement. The latest addition to the series is a volume entitled 'The Chamārs,' by Mr G. W. Briggs, M.Sc., a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America.

The writer of this notice can remember twenty years ago her fruitless search for any one volume which should gather together the available information on these very people. It is the memory of the vanity of that search which enables her to appreciate to the full Mr Briggs' monograph. In a capitally illustrated little book of two hundred and seventy pages, which can be purchased for six shillings, he has compiled from census reports, imperial and provincial, and from the works of men like Crooke, Ibbetson, Rose, Russell, Westcott, Macauliffe and Sherring an invaluable fund of information about the Chamārs, and this he has supplemented by facts drawn from his own observation, or from that of his friends. The resultant volume is a guidebook to give to every young missionary in India who is working amongst the low-castes. Let its

happy possessor first thoroughly master the book (he will find it stiff reading) and then go over every page of it with some of his own special friends, be they Chamārs, Dheds, or sweepers. Their corrections, amplifications and explanations will soon give him an unrivalled knowledge of the mentality of the low-caste.

One word of caution : it is safer for the beginner in anthropology to try to record things as they are at the present moment, rather than to speculate on their origin—the youthful missionary had better not bother with traces of ' matriarchate,' or the distinction between magic and religion ; and, above all, let any field observer in India keep far away from the discredited term ' fetish,' leaving that for his African brother. If he deals with totemism, he must be on his guard, especially in India, lest he mistake signs of zoolatry for proofs of the existence of totems ; for not every missionary is as careful an observer or as well read as Mr Briggs.

But it is not only the man in the field who will find fresh inspiration in this book. Many professing Christians at home (thanks very largely to the second-rate literature with which their missionary libraries have been stocked in the past) are beginning to ask if Christianity is indeed the final religion, and whether other faiths have not done as much to raise their adherents. This workmanlike volume answers that question, as far as the Chamārs are concerned, by showing exactly what Hinduism has done for the outcastes.

MARGARET STEVENSON

OXFORD

A STUDY OF HINDI LITERATURE

HISTORY OF HINDI LITERATURE. By F. E. KEAY, M.A. London: Oxford University Press. Calcutta: Association Press. 2s. 6d. 1920.

THIS admirable little book gives us in 116 pages a succinct account of the large literature written in the three languages Western Hindi, Avadhī (here called Eastern Hindi) and Bihārī. The last is barely mentioned, but a great deal of information is given about the other two. Urdu, the genius of which is entirely different, is rightly excluded. The book consists of twelve short chapters with a sketch map, index and two pages of bibliography.

The first chapter discusses the linguistic relationship of Hindi in the widest sense and explains the reason for the choice of the

three languages mentioned above. The author may be right in putting Kashmīrī among Indo-Aryan languages, thus following Dr Sten Konow as against Sir George Grierson, but he is mistaken in including Kohistānī. The list of Prākrits and their descendants brings together in small space facts not easily obtainable elsewhere. The second chapter contains a general survey of the field, while the eleventh and twelfth are of the nature of an appendix. They treat of the characteristics and prospects of the literature, and deserve special attention, as they make a greater appeal to those who do not contemplate a minute study of the language. One almost wishes that for the sake of Indian readers the author had developed a little more fully his statement of the disadvantage under which Hindi labours through not having a fixed standard of language. We may be thankful that some Indians now are seriously setting themselves to the solution of this problem.

In chapters III to X is given a survey, as detailed as space will permit, of the whole literature extending over a period of approximately 700 years. With reference to the 250 years between 1550 and 1800 Mr Keay adopts the plan of dealing with the material in five parallel streams. This has the advantage of bringing together all that has to be said about a particular line of thought, and the disadvantage of making it very difficult to trace the chronological order of the writers. Thus Dev Kavī, who died in 1745, is discussed three chapters before Sūr Dās, whose dates are 1483–1563. One feature of these chapters will be valued by missionaries and others engaged in a study of religious writings. The space devoted to poets whose fame is religious rather than literary might be criticized as excessive, but in a country like India, where religion plays so great a part in the life of the people and in their literary works, special treatment of reformers is to be commended. Some who have not the time to devote to a study of the literature as a whole will be able to select one or other of the great religious sects and read as widely as possible the literature to which it has given birth. The literary fertility of several of the sects has been amazing.

In chapter VI may be found an excellent account of Tulsī Dās, the bright particular star of Hindi literature, known to the general public chiefly through the writings of Sir George Grierson. The Rāmāyan should be studied by every missionary and every official working in North India. If it cannot be read in the Avadhī original it should be read in ordinary Hindi. The Rāmāyan is almost a Bible

to many millions of Indians, literate and illiterate alike, and without understanding it and its teaching we can hardly understand them.

The value of the book is enhanced by the use of diacritical marks for Hindi names and other words, and by an excellent index of books and authors. Unfortunately there is no index of subjects. The brief bibliography is useful, but is crippled by the omission of necessary details as to size, price and publisher. I trust that in a second edition these omissions will be made good.

Throughout the volume we are conscious of the debt which the author owes to Sir George Grierson—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—who has published more on the subject than any other English writer, yet he maintains a point of view of his own, and he has furnished us with a mass of information which has not before been brought within so small a compass. Previous to the publication of this work missionaries may well have been afraid to commence the study of Hindi literature, not knowing what to read and what to leave. With this guide, however, they may with confidence make a start, and with the field mapped out for them by Mr Keay may proceed confidently, making their selection according to the needs of their work. They and all others interested in the people and their poems have reason to be grateful to the author for his labour on their behalf.

T. Grahame Bailey

School of Oriental Studies, London

A CENTRAL AFRICAN PIONEER

The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot. By Ernest Baker. With Map and Illustrations. London: Seeley, Service. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.

Missionary literature is enriched by the publication of *The Life and Explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot.* Christian workers, the simple lover of adventure, the cultivated man, the traveller, the philologist and ethnologist, the philanthropist, the trader, the doctor and the administrator will alike be interested in the volume.

The reviewer had the privilege of knowing 'little Livingstone' (as the natives called Arnot) and also of seeing part of the work which he founded in Central Africa. The book owes much to Mrs Arnot, who has given access to the documents in her possession and has personally assisted the author.

Mr Baker writes in his preface :

> I hesitated long as to the form the life of Arnot should take, alternating between a descriptive narrative and a transcript of his diaries and letters. As I read and reread these I felt something of the spell that the diaries of D. Brainerd, H. Martyn and Murray M'Cheyne have exercised on so many, and I felt that it would be better for the most part to allow Arnot to tell his own story.

Mr Baker does in fact become more the editor than the biographer, which gives to these pages a special charm. A large number of illustrations, a map and an index complete the book. The *Life and Explorations of Arnot* is in part a résumé of the three books previously published by him : *Garenganze*, which appeared in 1889 as an account of the first seven years of his activity, *Bihe and Garenganze* published in 1893, which tells of his work from 1889 to 1892, and finally a reprint of *Garenganze* published in 1913 and entirely rewritten under the title of *Missionary Travels in Central Africa.*

Arnot was born at Glasgow in 1858. In 1862 his parents moved to Hamilton, the birthplace of Livingstone. The families of Arnot and Livingstone became linked in close friendship.

> One of the chief friends and playmates of Dr Livingstone's children was F. Arnot, and when they received letters from their father telling of Africa and its news, and of the sufferings inflicted on the natives by slave traders, they shared these letters with their playmates, in whom thus gradually grew an interest in the dark continent. . . . At the age of six he heard Dr Livingstone, who had just returned from exploring the Zambesi. . . . Though only a boy Fred determined that he would go and help that great man in his work.

This decision grew stronger, and in 1881 at the age of twenty-three he embarked with a friend for Africa as an independent missionary, looking to God for support. On arrival at Durban, where his friend's health failed so that he was obliged to give up the journey, Arnot travelled alone northward through the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, Bechuanaland and the desert of Kalahari, up to the Zambesi, a journey which lasted a whole year. He went on to the Barotse, among whom he dwelt for two years ; then his health became so enfeebled that he decided to go towards the west to Benguella in search of medical treatment. Meeting a convoy with a letter from Msidi, king of Garenganze (or Katanga), asking that white men should go to his country, Arnot responded to the appeal

and in 1886 established himself in Garenganze, to the west of the Lakes Bangweolo and Mweru. Two travellers, a German and a Portuguese, had previously paid a short visit to this country. Livingstone had been very near when he died at Ilala. Arnot was the first to evangelize the district. He remained there for two years, without news of the outside world.

Arnot's methods, as his biographer points out, were those of the lonely wanderer who makes his way quietly, patiently and in the spirit of love from village to village, from tribe to tribe. This is what he said of himself :

> I see clearly two divisions in the work : first, the prospecting and travelling part ; secondly, the doing the work of the evangelist. In the meantime I am bound to the first. 'The road' is my attested sphere. To a great extent, my work may only be preparing for others to attain. . . . The work in which I have been most blessed and for which I seem to have most aptitude is pioneer.

It was this preparatory work which enabled Arnot to lay the solid foundations on which his mission rests. He maintained again and again that ' the true aim and object of all my travelling is to make Christ known.' It was thus that Livingstone acted, and to him Arnot shows marked resemblance.

Arnot nine times made the journey to the centre of Africa. ' It is estimated that he covered 29,000 miles in all on foot, in hammock, on the back of donkeys or oxen, or in canoes.' To these must be added his numerous journeys by sea and by rail. He was about to undertake his tenth journey to Central Africa when he died at Johannesburg in March 1914 at the age of fifty-five.

Two testimonies as to the man and his work may be quoted. Sir Ralph Williams, Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, said :

> I have seen many missionaries under varied circumstances, but such an absolutely forlorn man existing on from day to day almost homeless, without any of the appliances that make life bearable, I have never seen. He was imbued with one desire, and that was to do God service.

Colonel C. Harding, C.M.G., acting British Resident Magistrate of N.W. Rhodesia, reports (1898–1900) of Arnot's mission :

> It is impossible to estimate the full extent of good work done by this little band of workers in the heart of Africa. . . . The missionaries are most popular with the natives, obtaining respect and order by moral influence and example.

It would be easy to continue the list of similar testimonies but what is more convincing still is to hear, as I myself have heard, the testimony of those among whom and for whom he lived and to read of the sixteen stations in the Arnot mission where more than sixty missionaries work.

Truly the life and work of Arnot are an evident witness to the power and the love of God.

A. Lageard

Torre Pellice

CHINA THROUGH FRENCH EYES

La Chine. By Emile Hovelaque. Paris: Flammarion. F. 6.75. 1920.

This book is one of a series entitled 'Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique,' and its author holds the position of 'Inspecteur-général de l'Instruction publique.' One comes to the book, therefore, with expectancy and is not disappointed.

In his preface the author touches on the profound differences which exist between China and the West, pointing out that they have their root in the very foundations of the life and thought of the people, and spring from a different conception of life. The aim of the book is to exhibit the main features of this, to western readers, so strange civilization, together with the causes of its development, so that it may be better understood what place China holds in our common humanity and what she has to teach the nations of the western world.

The first part of the book contains vivid descriptions of certain places in China which the author has himself visited. These include Canton, Shanghai, the valley of the Yang-tze and Peking. The pen-pictures which the author draws will make these places live again before the eyes of any who have visited them. They are perhaps too fragmentary to convey a true picture of China to readers who have never been there. The author's enthusiasm sometimes carries him into amusing exaggerations, as when he says 'Every Chinese knows how to read and write, in spite of the frightful complication of the characters.' His solitary reference to the work of Protestant missionaries reveals egregious ignorance. If only he knew what a trial the big mission houses in the port cities often are to the missionaries themselves! But in the main the author shows keen powers of observation and his impressionist sketches are interspersed

with shrewd and penetrating comments which enhance the interest and value of his work.

The chief value of the book, however, lies in the second part, which consists of a discussion on the origins, the history, the religions and the art of ancient China. M. Hovelaque has read widely, and has given prolonged study to the works of Chinese writers. He believes that he understands even the Tao-te-king of Lao-tze. Certainly his discussion on this and other subjects is singularly stimulating and suggestive. Missionaries would do well to read it, not as a standard work whose conclusions are to be implicitly accepted, but as opening up wide fields of study and giving an illuminating introduction to the chief matters of importance in each field. The chapter on the Religions and that on the Art of China are specially fresh and richly provocative of thought.

The third part of the book gives a concise and careful outline of the relations of China with other countries from the thirteenth century, when the Pope first essayed to send an ambassador to Peking, down to the fall of the Manchu dynasty. It is not pleasant reading for a European. The author does not conceal the 'cynical rapacity' of foreign powers, as exhibited in their dealings with China, so inconsistent with their promises and professed beliefs. At the same time the impression left upon the mind is perhaps a little too gloomy. There have been some bright features in the relations of western nations with China.

The book concludes with a review of recent events and a short discussion of the general outlook at the present time. M. Hovelaque distinguishes clearly between the political agitations, which are due to a small minority, and the true life of the Chinese people, which still continues on its ancient lines. He has small confidence in the modern Chinese idealists who think they can transform China by phrases and decrees. But he foresees convulsions, such as France and other modern countries have passed through, beginning also in China, which 'will be as much deeper, more prolonged, and more sanguinary as the distance which separates China from a modern society is greater and its mass is more enormous.' Of Christianity he says but little, yet to a Christian reader his book is a confirmation of the fact that the Lord Jesus Christ is necessary to China, and that there can be no more fruitful contribution to China's highest welfare than to make Him known to the Chinese people. Western civilization in its present form is indeed not acceptable to thoughtful Orientals.

As M. Hovelaque says, there is too great disaccord between the religion of western nations and their practice, between the principles which they profess and those which they apply. But on the other hand, as he admits, western civilization with all its defects is alive, whereas 'the highest civilizations of the Orient are little more than beautiful corpses.' It is through Jesus Christ alone that West and East alike can find salvation, the West by returning to Him, and the East by becoming His disciples.

H. W. Oldham

Nethy Bridge

A HANDBOOK OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Handbuch der Katholischen Missionen. By Bernard Arens. Freiburg: Herder. 418 S. geb. M. 45. 1920.

This handbook is written to enable busy readers quickly to obtain trustworthy information regarding the chief facts about the Roman Catholic missionary world. It brings together very extensive material and draws frequently from sources that are difficult of access. It treats first of the supreme directing authorities in missionary work, the Pope, the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali, the heads of the missionary orders and those in command on the mission field itself. The second part names the agencies of mission work at home and in the mission field, the most important recent literature on mission geography and statistics (this unfortunately extends to only three pages), and sets out in a statistical table the position of the Roman Catholic mission field towards the end of the world war. The third part is concerned with the training of the missionary staff and with the training centres, and gives in an appendix a list of the German and Austrian missionary orders and their missionary training schools. Further sections deal with mission funds and their collection, with missionary associations, missionary periodicals and the tendency of late years towards a scientific study of missions, and finally with the means of communication between the home base and the mission field. The closely printed text is interspersed here and there with very complete tables, so that to every important question a short reliable answer is ready to hand, even the matter of addresses, cost of travel, distances, amount of the annual contributions of the individual missionary associations, etc. That is of

course only possible because the text is kept extraordinarily short and the tables often extend up to 50 pp. in the closest type. Nevertheless the text remains readable, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the compiler for giving us this comprehensive presentation of the Roman Catholic missionary enterprise with a completeness never yet attained. He has further in prospect a special treatise on Roman Catholic missionary associations. No one engaged in the serious study of Roman Catholic missions can afford to neglect this book, which should also be in every mission book-room.

M. SCHLUNK

HAMBURG

SHORTER NOTICES

The Trade and Administration of China. By H. B. Morse, LL.D. Third edition revised. (Longmans, Green & Co. 25s. net. 1921.) This book is by no means a reprint of the author's former work, *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, first published in 1908, and it is more than a revised edition. The majority of its pages bear evidence to the fact that it has been thoroughly recast and brought up to date in view of the great changes in China, so that it is almost a new work. The first two chapters are quite new, replacing what had been written by another hand in the first edition. There is also an additional chapter dealing with the Government of Republican China, and a chapter on railways has been introduced by an abbreviated reproduction of what appeared in the author's larger work, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire.* Statistics and figures have all been brought up to date, and whereas the first edition extended to a total of 450 pages this edition exceeds 500. Yet the title page modestly only says 'third edition revised,' making no reference to the fifty pages of new matter. This book is all that old China hands have been accustomed to expect from the pen of one who was formerly Statistical Secretary to the Inspectorate General of Customs in China. It is a model of meticulous care, full knowledge and unsparing industry. Every contribution from Dr Morse is a permanent addition of value to our knowledge of China.

M. B.

The Place of Christianity among the Greater Religions of the World. By D. A. Stewart, B.D. (London: S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.

1920.) The writer of this volume has not taken the best way to secure his object. The six chapters in which the religions are treated separately are on the one hand inadequate as statements, and on the other contain details which are irrelevant to the purpose of the book. It would have been better had the whole volume been devoted to the comparison of Christianity with other religions, and all that was relevant in the separate statements had been included under each of the heads of comparison. The method adopted involves both repetition and incompleteness. The impression given is that the writer has not adequate knowledge of the religions generally, especially the psychology and the philosophy of religion, to give him as keen an insight and as sure a judgment as his task would demand to be quite successfully achieved. The book, however, contains a great deal of valuable material, and the comparison in the last chapter is carried out in an interesting and helpful way. It will be useful as an introduction to the subject and the writer may be encouraged to pursue the subject.

A. E. G.

The World's Student Christian Federation. Origin, Achievements, Forecast. By John R. Mott. (London: S.C.M. 2s. 6d. 1920.) Few books can be more inspiring than this short report of the growth of the World's Student Christian Federation during the first quarter-century of its life. While the sections on the founding of the Federation, its guiding principles, its methods of work and its aims are of general interest, the parts which deal with such questions as Christian unity, the unoccupied fields, a new social order, the Christianizing of international relations and the grave interracial situation are of special value to those concerned with the missionary enterprise. The angle from which the Federation views its world task is significant. Owing to its international character and its consciousness of the contribution which each national movement has rendered to the whole, the Federation has developed a spirit of common responsibility and common trust, in which national or racial superiority has no place. In Christ the members are one. In view of the present world situation—marked, according to an Indian Christian, by 'hardly any interracial trust or goodwill'—no greater task lies before the Federation than that of spreading the spirit and practice of Christian brotherhood among and beyond the 200,000 students who form its membership. E. G. K. H.

Die Juden in Abessinien. Von Dr C. Rathjens, Wiss. Hilfsarbeiter am Geographischen Seminar der Hamburgischen Universität. (Hamburg: Gente. 12 M. 1921.) The missionary problems connected with Abyssinia are many, and in no respect are they more vital and far-reaching than the connexion of its religion, and no small part of its people, with Judaism and the Jews. For to us western Christians it seems extraordinary that a religion should call itself Christian, and Christian it certainly is, and yet observe so many practices that are closely connected with Judaism. The ark in the sanctuary receives special honour, and if it be removed the building loses its sanctity; strict dietary laws are observed, not the same, though, as the Pentateuchal; Sabbath is kept as well as Sunday; there are fast days in abundance, though not specifically Jewish; circumcision is compulsory, though this too is in many respects more akin to Mohammedan and Coptic practice than to Jewish; and eating the sinew must be avoided in the royal family. How came this observance of practices so much akin (to say the least) to Judaism? Do they represent, as has been asserted, the direct influence of primitive Christianity? But Abyssinia was not converted until the fourth century, when Frumentius went there, and we have no reason to suspect him of anything but the orthodoxy of the time. Probably the reason is that for some centuries before that date many Jews who had crossed over from the south of Arabia had lived in Abyssinia, and their customs remained in a weakened or modified form. It is in the same way that the existence of the Falashas may be explained. They are the remnants of such Jews who, separated from the rest of their nation, and knowing nothing therefore of Talmudic and Rabbinic rules, have developed along their own lines, enduring, in this long period, much persecution at the hands of the Christians. The Kamants, again, who live in the same districts as the Falashas seem to be of purely Gentile origin and to hold a semi-heathen form of Christianity. Altogether we are grateful to Dr Rathjens for a very informing book.

A. L.-W.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. J. P. S. R. Gibson of the Church Missionary Society went to Ceylon in 1908. He is in charge of the Training Colony at Peradeniya.

Professor Paul Monroe, Ph.D., LL.D., is Director of the School of Education at the Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York.

The Rev. Frank Lenwood, formerly a missionary in India, is a Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society. He is a member of the group which is responsible for the series 'The Christian Explains Himself.'

The Rev. Campbell N. Moody, whose recent work, *The Mind of the Early Converts*, was reviewed in our last issue, is a member of the English Presbyterian Mission in Formosa.

The Rev. C. E. Wilson is Foreign Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society (London), and an active member of the Committee on Christian Literature appointed by the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

Miss B. D. Gibson has recently visited America in connexion with the International Missionary Committee, in the work of which she is associated.

Mrs C. R. Carscallen joined the Canadian Methodist Mission in China in 1906. Her station is Cheng-tu in Szechwan.

Mr Newton W. Rowell, K.C., M.P., who was the first Treasurer of the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, has taken a leading part in public affairs in Canada.

The writers of book reviews are Mr Edwyn Bevan, well known to readers of this paper; Pastor Friedrich Würz, editor of the *Evangelisches Missions-Magazine*; Miss M. C. Gollock, member of the National Assembly of the Church of England; Mrs Creighton, a leader in British missionary work; Mr. F. H. Brown, London correspondent of *The Times of India*; Mrs Sinclair Stevenson of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in India and author of *The Rites of the Twice-Born*, etc.; Dr T. Grahame Bailey, formerly a missionary of the Church of Scotland in India; M. le Pasteur Lageard, of the Paris Evangelical Mission, now on furlough in Italy; the Rev. H. W. Oldham, until recently working under the English Presbyterian Mission in South China; and Pastor Lic. Martin Schlunk, Secretary of the Deutsche Evangelische Missionsausschuss.

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

The International Review of Missions completes its tenth volume with the number for October 1921.

Special features which will, it is hoped, be of permanent value to students of missions, are being introduced. The October issue will contain a Ten Years' Classified Index to the forty numbers of the Review. The issue for January 1922, which will be considerably enlarged, will contain a Ten Years' Selected International Missionary Bibliography. A survey of 'The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years' will begin in January and continue throughout the eleventh volume.

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the preparation of the bibliography the Editor has the advantage of the co-operation of Professor Harlan P. Beach, D.D. (Yale), M. le Pasteur Allégret (Paris), Mr Marshall Broomhall (London), Rev. W. A. Crabtree (London), J. N. Farquhar, D.Litt. (Calcutta), Rev. E. C. Lobenstine (Shanghai), Rev. Martin Westling (Stockholm), Professor H. M. van Nes, D.D. (Leiden), Missionsinspektor Lic. M. Schlunk (Hamburg), Mr Kenneth Saunders (Rangoon), Rev. Fr. Schepelern (Denmark), Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (London), Rev. S. H. Wainright, D.D. (Tokyo), Canon A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (London).

While the bibliography is concerned primarily with missionary literature, published matter on other subjects closely related to the progress of Christianity is included when it is of exceptional value.

Entries of magazine articles are distinguished by †.

Abbreviations of magazine titles are explained on p. 448.

Annotations in the bibliography do not preclude a subsequent review.

MAIN HEADINGS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. History
II. Missionary Biography
III. The Home Base
IV. The Mission Fields
V. Works of Reference
VI. Theory and Principles of Missions
VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries
VIII. Missionary Methods
IX. The Church in the Mission Field
X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity
XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions
XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions
XIII. Hortatory and Practical
XIV. New Missionary Magazines
XV. Missionary Education Publications

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Useful for those who desire general information about this powerful tribe in the Persian uplands.

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(from Morocco to Somaliland)

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Francis Fuller. xi+241 pp. Illus. Map. London: Murray. 16s. net. 1921. *408.*
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LES SOCIÉTÉS BANTOUES DU CONGO BELGE ET LES PROBLÈMES DE LA POLITIQUE INDIGÈNE. G. Van der Kerken. 480 pp. Paris: Larose. 25 frs. 1921. *410.*
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East and Central Africa

(*from the Zambezi to the Juba rivers*)

See *405* (Handbook); *418* (Abyssinian Jews).

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†SOME NATIVE QUESTIONS. A. W. Roberts, D.Sc. *Christian Express*, 1921 (Jan.), 5–7; (Feb.), 22–4. *411.*

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THE ISLANDERS OF THE PACIFIC; OR THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN. T. St Johnston. 307 pp. London: Fisher Unwin. 25s. net. 1921. *416.*
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DIE JUDEN IN ABESSINIEN. Carl Rathjens. 97 pp. Map. Hamburg: W. Gente. M. 12. 1921. *418.*
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†THE FUTURE OF HEBREW CHRISTIANS. A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. CMR, 1921 (Mar.), 33–41. *420.*

General

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. A Short History. J. P. Bulkeley. x+228 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. 1921. *421.*
The author, who is a government educational officer in Burma, has set himself more especially to trace the growth of political institutions within the empire and to emphasize the influence of geography on history. The book is of special interest for India and South Africa.

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CHINA, JAPAN AND KOREA. J. O. P. Bland. x+327 pp. London: Heinemann. 21s. net. 1921. *423.*

LES MISSIONS DE CHINE ET DU JAPON. J.-M. Planchet, missionaire lazariste. 513 pp. Pékin: Imprimerie des Lazaristes. 1921. *424.*
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†SVENSKA MISSIONSPERSPEKTIV. Karl Fries. SMT, 1921 (1), 24–38. *426.*

See also *341* (Biography); *342* (Student Christian Federation); *439* (Education); *448* (Proposals for Unity); *459* (Religion).

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170 Seiten voll Fragen über Geographie, Ethnographie, Religion, Sprachwissenschaft und Mission zur Anleitung für katholische Missionare und ihre wissenschaftlichen Forschungen.

See also *379* (Linguistic Survey, India).

VI. Theory and Principles of Missions

MISSION UND WISSENSCHAFT. Akademische Antrittsvorlesung. R. F. Merkel. 32 pp.

Hefte zur Missionskunde Nr. 17. Herrnhut: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung. 1921. *429.*

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VII. The Training and Qualifications of Missionaries

The Preparation of Missionaries appointed to Educational Service. vii+61 pp. New York: Board of Missionary Preparation, 25 Madison Avenue. 1920. *432.*
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VIII. Missionary Methods

Christian Education

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†The Outlook for Religious Education in Japan. J. Williams Butcher. EW, 1921 (Apr.), 104–17. *435.*

China

†Industrial Education in Mission Schools. Some Suggestions pointing to a possible Solution of the Problem. S. M. Dean. *Educational Review* (*China*), 1921 (Jan.), 35–54. *436.*

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†The Centenary of Bishop's College. N. H. Tubbs. EW, 1921 (Apr.), 159–70. *438.*

See also *391* (Women).

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General

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Conversion in India. E. A. Annett. 195 pp. Calcutta: C.L.S.I. 14 as. 1920. *444.*

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See also *362* (Chinese Christianity); *448* (Proposals for Unity).

X. Comity, Co-operation and Unity

The World Conference on Faith and Order. A Compilation of Proposals for Christian Unity. 80 pp. Published for the Conference at 174 Water Street, Maine, U.S.A. 1921. *448.*
Contains documents from Great Britain, North America, Australia, South India, East Africa, etc.

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Geschichte und Aktenstücke zur internationalen kirchlichen Einigung.

See also *342* (Student Christian Federation); *344* (Lambeth Conference).

XI. Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions

Religions of Primitive Peoples

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY. The Beginnings of the Family and the Reckoning of Descent. Edwin Sidney Hartland. v+180 pp. London: Methuen. 6s. net. 1921. *450.*

EEN JAVAANSCHE PRIMBON UIT DE ZESTIENDE EEUW. Inleiding, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen. H. Kraemer. 239 blz. Leiden: P. M. W. Trap. 1921. *451.*

†A PEOPLE OF DREAMS. Robert Keable. *Hibbert Journal*, 1921 (Apr.), 522–31. *452.*

See also *416–7* (Oceania).

Religions of Japan

See *353* (Nō Plays).

Religions of China

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KONFUZIANISCHEN DOGMAS UND DER CHINESISCHEN STAATSRELIGION. O. Franke. 329 S. und 11 Tafeln. Hamburg: Friederichsen & Co. M. 72. 1920. *453.*

Der Sinologe an der Hamburger Universität führt in diesem Buche mit allen Mitteln der Wissenschaft den Nachweis, dass Konfuzius der Verfasser des Tsch'-un-ts'in ist und dass die Deutung dieses Lehrbuches der Staatsethik in zwei Trägerreihen überliefert ist, deren eine in einem Werke Tung tschung schus, des Begründers des staatlichen Prüfungssystems erhalten ist. In diesem Werk, von dem der zweite Teil der Arbeit Frankes handelt, findet sich überraschend viel wertvollster religionskundlicher Stoff. Eine hochbedeutsame Veröffentlichung.

See also *363* (Formosan Villagers).

Religions of India

THE SADHU. A Study in Mysticism and Practical Religion. B. H. Streeter and A. J. Appasamy. xv+264 pp. London: Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net. 1921. *454.*

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EARLY HISTORY OF VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangan. xii+112 pp. Bombay: Milford. 1920. *456.*

This is an attempt to find trustworthy chronological data for early Vaishṇava history in the early Tamil literature.

THE BENGALI RAMÁYANAS. Rai Saheb Dineschandra Sen. Calcutta: University of Calcutta. Rs. 14.2 as. 1921. *457.*

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†KARMA. J. Paul S. R. Gibson. IRM, 1921 (July), 305–20. *458a.*

GOTAMA BUDDHA. Kenneth J. Saunders. xii+113 pp. New York: Association Press. 1920. *459.*

A brief but scholarly and sympathetic biography.

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LE DOGME ET LA LOI DE L'ISLAM. Histoire du developpement dogmatique et juridique de la religion musulmane. Traduction de Félix Arin. I. Goldziher. vii+314 pp. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner. 25 frs. 1920. *460.*

A review is in preparation.

ETUDE SUR L'ISLAM ET LES TRIBUS DU SOUDAN. Paul Marty. T. I. Les Kounta de l'Est, les Berabich, les Iguellad. 358 pp. T. II. La région de Tombouctou (Islam Songaï) et Dienni, le Macina et dépendances (Islam Peul). 311 pp. Paris: Leroux. 1920. *461.*

L'ISLAM. Edouard Montet. (Collection Payot.) 160 pp. Paris: Payot. 4 frs. 1921. *462.*

Petit livre utile. Vue d'ensemble sur les origines et le developpement de l'Islam.

LES INSTITUTIONS MUSULMANES. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. 192 pp. Paris: Flammarion. 4 frs. 50. 1921. *463.*

STUDIES IN ISLAMIC POETRY. R. A. Nicholson. 312 pp. London: Cambridge University Press. 26s. net. 1921. *464.*

†MOSLEM RETROGRESSION. W. Hooper, D.D. MW, 1921 (Apr.), 127–37. *465.*

†APOSTASY FROM ISLAM. S. M. Zwemer, D.D. EW, 1921 (Apr.), 123–33. *466.*

See also *369* (Java); *399* (Caliphate); *409* (The Mossi).

Judaism

See *420* (Hebrew Christians).

General

TIELE SÖDERBLOMS KOMPENDIUM DER RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. Nathan Söderblom. 557 S. Berlin-Schöneberg: Fr. Grabow. 5 Aufl. 1920. *467.*

Das bewährte Handbuch in neuer Anordnung die der Geschichte der biblischen Religionsentwicklung folgt mit manchen Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen der Literaturnachweise.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS: A Psychological Study. James Bissett Pratt. vii + 488 pp. London and New York: Macmillan. 22s. net. 1921. *468.*
A review is in preparation.

RELIGIONERNAS KAMP. H. V. Schomerus. Oversättning från tyskan av Fredrik Dahlbom. 75 sid. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Förlag. Kr. 2.00. 1921. *469.*

KRISTENHETEN OCH DEN ICKE KRISTNA VÄRLDEN. Math. Tarkkanen. 71 pp. Helsingfors: Finska Missionssällsk. 5 mk. *470.*

DIE NICHTCHRISTLICHEN KULTURRELIGIONEN. C. Clemen. 2 Bde. Leipzig: Teubner. je M. 2.80—0.85 fr., geb. M. 3.50—1.05 fr. und 120% T.Z. 1921. *471.*
Ein sehr dankenswerter Versuch, die nichtchristlichen Kulturreligionen in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustande darzustellen.

†DIE AUSEINANDERSETZUNG DER MISSION MIT DEN NICHTCHRISTLICHEN RELIGIONEN. M. Schlunk. AMZ, 1921 (Apr.), 73–80. *472.*

†RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE BIBLIOGRAPHIE IM ANSCHLUSS AN DAS ARCHIV FÜR RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT. Carl Clemen. ZMR, 1920 (Nov.) (Dez.), 1–40. *473.*

†THE CHRISTIAN EXPLAINS HIMSELF. The Cross, the Spring of Hope. Frank Lenwood. IRM, 1921 (July), 351–63. *474.*

XII. Social and Political Relations of Missions

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK. Arthur Sweetser. 215 pp. London: Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net. 1921. *475.*

†THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ASSEMBLY AT GENEVA. Newton W. Rowell, K.C., M.P. IRM, 1921 (July), 402–15. *476.*

†DIE MISSION UND DIE STAATLICHEN GEWALTEN. EMM, 1921 (Feb.), 35–41; (Mär.), 65–71. *477.*

†DET INTERNATIONALE SAMARBEJDE PAA YDRE MISSIONS OMRAADE. Prof. Dr theol. Fr. Torm. NMT, 1920 (Okt.), 193–9. *478.*

†MISSION OG NATIONALITET. Fr. Schepelern. NMT, 1920 (Dec.), 241–54. *479.*

KROMOBLANDA. Over 't vraagstuk van 'het Wonen' in Kromo's Groote land. dl. III. H. F. Tillema. 217 blz. Gröningen. 1920–1. *480.*

†UIT DE MALEISCH-JAVAANSCH-SOENDANEESCHE PERS. MZW, 1921 (LXV[1]), 62–8. *481.*

See also *351* (Sir E. Satow); *356* (Japan in Korea); *388–91* (Modern India); *399* (Caliphate); *401* (Syria and the Powers); *404* (African Mandates); *411–2* (South Africa); *439* (Education and Political Situation).

XV. Missionary Education Publications

JOSEPH AND HIS BROTHERS. An Old Testament Passion Play in Four Acts. W. H. T. Gairdner. xii + 72 pp. London: S.P.C.K. New York: Macmillan. 1s. 6d. net. 1921. *482.*

YARNS ON BROTHERS OF ALL THE WORLD. A. P. Shepherd. 64 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1921. *483.*
This seventh number in the 'Yarns' series aims to present to boys of 14–16 the Christian ideal of international brotherhood.

STORY LESSONS ON AFRICA. L. Mabel Link. 64 pp. London: U.C.M.E. 1s. net. 1921. *484.*
Suitable for Sunday school teachers, junior guild leaders, etc.

ABBREVIATION OF MAGAZINE TITLES

AMZ = *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*
CMR = *Church Missionary Review*
CR = *Chinese Recorder*
EM = *Die evangelischen Missionen*
EMM = *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*
EW = *The East and The West*
HF = *Harvest Field*
IRM = *International Review of Missions*
JE = *Japan Evangelist*
JRD = *Journal of Race Development*
MZW = *Mededeelingen Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap*
MRW = *Missionary Review of the World*
MW = *Moslem World*
NMT = *Nordisk Missions-Tidsskrift*
SMT = *Svensk Missionstidskrift*
ZM = *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR = *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*

When other magazines are referred to, the full title is given

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THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW OF MISSIONS

EDUCATION FOR LIFE AND DUTY

By Sir MICHAEL E. SADLER, K.C.S.I.

In all parts of the English-speaking world students of education are indebted to Dr Paul Monroe. To his labours and to those of his colleagues we owe the comprehensive *Cyclopædia of Education* (Macmillan) which, apart from its value as a book of reference, will stand as a tide-mark of our generation's insight into the significance of the teacher's art. Dr Monroe also commands our respect from the fact that he holds the chair of the History of Education at Teachers College in Columbia University, New York. The magnitude of Teachers College, the range of the studies which it represents and the fine generosity of its foundation encourage everywhere, and not least in England and in India, those who long for a more adequate recognition of the value of an intelligent and scientific investigation of the difficult and elusive questions which underlie the practice of education.

In the important article on 'Mission Education and National Policy' which he contributed to the last issue of this Review Dr Monroe has done a further public service

When articles in the Review are an expression of the policy or views of the Continuation Committee, or of the conclusions reached by any of its Special Committees, this fact will be made clear. In all other instances the writer of the paper is alone responsible for the opinions expressed

by recording his ' keen appreciation of the result of mission education in the past and the present.' Writing with the authority of a skilled observer, he draws public attention to the fact that ' the problems of mission education are the problems of education at home.' He reminds us that recently developments, even in American education, have disclosed certain dangers. ' A mass education, controlled by the public,' may ' minimize or neglect the essential elements of culture and personality.' ' Democratic education has some obvious shortcomings which should be avoided.' Even under the surface of ' a letter-perfect technique,' there may be felt ' the deadening influence of a mechanical bureaucracy.' It may not be thought unbecoming on the part of an English student of the subject to say how deeply he feels the debt of the modern world, and especially of Britain, to the educational enterprise of America ; to its verve, its courage, its liberality, its incessant experiments, its readiness to take stock of itself and to adjust itself to new social needs. Courage and candour are great moral forces. Both of them are displayed by the true leaders of American education, and are not absent from Dr Monroe's article. Full of respect for the great achievements of public authority in American education, he sees nevertheless that the wisdom of public authority should be strengthened by the counterpoise of private initiative. ' The function of privately controlled education at home is to point the way to educational advance through its greater freedom of initiative and experimentation. The function of education inspired by a religious motive is to formulate and work out a comprehensive scheme of education which should include essential elements of culture and personality which are apt to be minimized or neglected in the mass education controlled by the public. The function in mission education is to serve these purposes abroad in much more difficult situations.'

Great is the significance of such a judgment falling

from the lips of a scholar in Dr Monroe's position. It means that the members of one of the largest training colleges in the world are watching the educational work of Christian missions and are endeavouring to assimilate their experience. In each great university, the missionary educator should feel that he has a home base. There, as well as at the headquarters of his society, his labours should be followed with sympathetic and critical attention. To the generous imagination of the young men and women in British and American universities (not to speak of the universities of France, Central Europe and India) the human experience of the missionary, of the pioneer and of the overseas administrator makes its appeal. Mr H. G. Wells, whose responsive sympathy gives warmth and variety to his writings, has just said in his wrath that 'the British universities have no philosophy of education and hardly any idea of an educational duty to the community as a whole.' [1] If this is true, it is high time that we university people were warned of our failure in a plain duty and were bidden repent. Study of missionary education, of its difficulties and political problems, will help to carry us into the heart of the labyrinth where the great secrets lie. Already we can see signs of the change which a candid and respectful study of missionary problems is making in university thought. The academic outlook, especially among the younger men and women, has been widened. *Abeunt studia in mores.* And the Student Christian Movement has helped in preparing the field for this new seed. Missionary work abroad and Christian work at home are but two aspects of one and the same duty. Educational policy in the West needs the light which missionary experience throws upon its problems and presuppositions. When intellectual opinion in France was still averse from learning what Christian experience has to teach, the pavilion of Roman Catholic missions at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 revealed to the student that, in its deep foundations,

[1] *The New Teaching of History*, by H. G. Wells (Cassell, 1921), p. 7.

French education rests upon the Christian ethic as well as upon critical exactitude.

The leaven of these contrasted influences (contrasted only until they harmonize in a new concord) is working in European and Indian as well as in American and Chinese thought. Dr Monroe is so good as to disclose to his readers his own disquietude of mind, his uneasiness at the insufficiency of some current political generalizations to cover all the facts revealed by missionary experience. We in England are similarly harassed by the misfit of some of our educational presuppositions when we are called upon to apply them to the varied problems of the mission field. But, through our having undertaken earlier than the Americans or the Germans responsibilities for overseas government we have been saved from committing ourselves as whole-heartedly as they to dogmas which are too narrow to embrace all the pertinent facts. Overseas experience has held back the English judgment from accepting some formulas of policy which are attractive through their logical precision but faulty by reason of their inadequacy to meet all the needs of the case. No one who is familiar with Shakespeare or with Wordsworth would arraign the English of incompetence in philosophic insight. Our heads are not empty of thought, however reluctantly thought jumps from our tongues. A mixed people, as Defoe described us, we have a mixed philosophy. Charged under Providence with a miscellaneous mission in the world, our policy is a mosaic of miscellaneous presuppositions. In the crisis of our educational controversy in the seventeenth century, we had somehow or other to square the experience of Nicholas Ferrar and Edwin Sandys in Virginia with the experience of the General Court of New England and with the hesitancies of New Hampshire and Rhode Island. More than a century later in our history it was a wise and calm-minded man who said that if you bound in one cover Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, the two together

would make a good book. A generation afterwards, when in 1833 the British Government created the Committee of Council on Education, Lord John Russell announced that it was Her Majesty's wish 'that the rights of conscience should be respected.' The obdurate convictions of diverse groups in the community had made it clear to our legislators that England, though it needed modern education, would not tolerate any state educational department which claimed absolute authority over the conscience, whether in religious belief or in the province of economic justice. In the famous Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, issued in 1843 and 1846, we find the outcome of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's untiring effort to translate the principle of toleration into the administrative regulations of a modern Education Department. The idea of entrusting to the state and to its expert officials a monopoly of educational control over the national 'culture' was, so far as England and Wales were concerned, decisively abandoned. The same policy, which had been reached in England at the cost of centuries of contention and bitter experience, was carried over into Indian education by the Despatch of the Court of Directors of the East India Company on July 19th, 1854. The despatch records the 'natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in education will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India and of other benevolent persons.' Therefore the authors of the despatch had 'resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success . . . and the system will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted.' The two-mindedness of England has taught us a philosophy, now instinctive, though rarely formulated. We first practised the philosophy at home.

Then we applied it to the dependent parts of the Commonwealth. Toleration, in its deepest sense, is *arcanum imperii*. And in no sphere of public effort is true toleration wiser or more necessary than in the sphere of education.

Unhappily for Europe, Germany addressed herself to the modern problem of educational policy without access to the experience which England had derived from her overseas responsibilities. More hemmed in by continental powers than we, she felt a little more hurried in her duty of internal reorganization. A late-comer into the new fields of industrial enterprise, she put more brains into her social policy as an accompaniment of her economic advance, and strove to recover lost ground by brilliant staff-work in educational planning. As fond of philosophy as the Scots, the Germans rejoiced in formulated principles, in which they rightly sought a guide to practical administration. A little prone by temperament to the joy of extreme conclusions, they swung themselves enthusiastically from the older tradition of particularism into the new implications of their imperial unity. The building up of the German systems of education during the nineteenth century was one of the capital achievements of political engineering. The results fascinated the world. Unfortunately they intoxicated the Germans. One of the most clear-eyed of Germans, Dr Walther Rathenau, has recently described the event. ' Instead of the Germany of thought and spirit, one saw suddenly a brutal, stupid community of interested persons, greedy for power, who gave themselves out as that Germany whose opposite they were ; who, unable to point to any thought of their own, prided themselves on an imaginary race-unity which their very appearance contradicted : who had no ideas beyond rancour, the slaverings of league-oratory and subordination ; and who with these properties, which they were pleased to call *Kultur*, undertook to bring blessing to the world. . . . The system looked like a nation. In

reality it was an autocratic association of economic interests bristling with arms.' [1]

Without a further penny of tribute, Germany has paid her indemnity to the world. She has proved the falsity of the ideal which poisoned her judgment. The foundation of that ideal lay in the thought that education can 'impart a community of ideas, purposes, traditions, institutions, accurately indicated by the German word *Kultur*.' The German policy held that this vitally influential agent, education, must be 'a government function.' State education should be dominant. 'Education is legitimately to be controlled by Government for the production of a common culture.' We see how large an element of truth there is in this theory. Education *is* a power. But we see also how perilous is any thoroughgoing application of the theory and how liable it is to be infected by false ideals. The theory is not dead. It still has power over many minds in Britain and elsewhere. To such people, sincerely patriotic as they feel themselves to be, it seems to offer a short-cut to national unity and strength. Plato cherished the doctrine, and who can wonder if it appeals to lesser minds than Plato's? In spite of the lessons of the war, it lingers in some passages of Dr Monroe's article. But it would appear from the concluding paragraphs of his paper that he feels a little uneasy as to its implications, and that the natural dictates of his heart and judgment lead him to rise above and beyond it.

America, like England, does not put all her educational eggs into one basket. She prefers a composite system, though rightly she lays the chief administrative emphasis upon that part of the system which is public in the sense of being governed by public authority and financed from public funds. Unlike England, America has had to create with all possible speed something like national unity among

[1] Walther Rathenau, *The New Society* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1921), pp. 91–3.

the mixed bodies of immigrants who have been poured through the funnel of New York harbour into the vast tankard of her population. The swifter the immigration and the more heterogeneous its ingredients, the more urgent have been the duty of developing the public school system and the desirability of getting people to believe in education as a national benefit. Consequently, to many Americans, education is one of the religions they really believe in. It has its orthodoxy, its pontiffs, its noble buildings. Education is the Established Church of the United States. And one need not be a thorough-going Erastian to see the benefit of state action in American education during a critical phase of American development. But the close observer soon discovers that state education has no monopoly in the United States. The Americans wisely retain another element in their educational system. The state universities of the Middle West, a conspicuous achievement of the last century, are none the worse for the existence of Harvard, Columbia and Yale. The public high schools gain from the juxtaposition of some of the private schools for boys and girls. The primary schools have learnt not a little from Dr John Dewey's philosophy, tested by experiment in a private university school at Chicago. And in Dr Monroe's article there are many references to the product of an old American tradition, much older than that of the ordinary state schools—a tradition which is strong in the influences which make for character, though dilatory in its welcome to new educational ideas and apt to fumble with antiquated methods of teaching. Between the mission field and this older tradition in American education the connexion has been close. Dr Monroe is one of those who are bringing American missionary education into closer contact with the newer educational life of the United States. The combination, when effected, will be fruitful, but all the more fruitful if it does not exclude recruitment from that quieter and more conservative world in which time-honoured ideas of education still hold sway.

Missionary education owes much to Germany and to Central Europe. Review the whole field and see how many admirable schools have derived their inpsiration and their methods from those sources. It owes much to America, never more than at this hour. And it owes much to Britain ;—to Scotland with her long-established reverence for learning and to England with her full heart, her shy loyalties, her distrust of official systematization and her dislike of any tendency to overrate the value of technique.

Yet, in proportion to her sphere of administrative responsibility and influence, Britain (in spite of the infusion of Scots in her overseas service and missionary enterprise) has made a less alert use of the instrument of education than have Germany and America. The older among British overseas administrators did not put the teacher or the officials of the Education Department into the seats of highest honour. As regards our public expenditure, frugality has found a field of exercise in the sphere of education. No one has ever charged British administration overseas with wild extravagance in its educational outlay. It might even occur to some observers that the older British administrators distrusted education for its own sake as well as disliking it because of its expense. The keen interest in educational reform, now noticeable among some British administrators, is a thing of yesterday. The badge of the older group of men (noble characters, many of them, in their self-sacrifice and equity) was hesitancy as to the benefits likely to be derived by the masses of any population (our own included) from a diffusion of modern western education, especially when it worked through books and talk. Knowing how wise many of these men were, should we not take trouble to ascertain why they distrusted education, in spite of the assiduity of the Germans and the zeal of the Americans ?

In one of his less known and fiercer writings,[1] John Henry

[1] J. H. Newman, *Discussions and Arguments* (London: Longmans, 1897), pp. 254 ff. (Letters on the Tamworth Reading Room, 1841.)

Newman fell upon Sir Robert Peel for having stumbled into a false philosophy of education when he made a speech at the opening of a reading room in Tamworth. Sir Robert seems to have said that 'in becoming wiser a man will become better' and that a widely diffused interest in knowledge, especially in physical knowledge, will contribute 'to the intellectual and moral improvement of the community.' Newman sharply retorts that 'to know is one thing: to do is another: the two things are altogether distinct. A man knows he should get up in the morning,—he lies a-bed: he knows he should not lose his temper, yet he cannot keep it. A labouring man knows he should not go to the alehouse and his wife knows she should not filch when she goes out charing; but nevertheless, in these cases, the consciousness of a duty is not at one with the performance of it.' Newman's charge against Peel, and against the facile optimism of the school of thought which Peel was echoing, is that modern education of the superficial type 'makes no pretence of subduing the giant nature in which we were born, of smiting the loins of the domestic enemies of our peace, of overthrowing passion and fortifying reason.' It does 'but offer to bribe the foe for the nonce with gifts which will avail for that purpose just so long as they *will* avail, and no longer.' Then, with rising emotion, he concludes: 'If virtue be a mastery over the mind, if its end be action, if its perfection be inward order, harmony and peace, we must seek guidance in graver and holier places. . . . The problem for statesmen of this age is how to educate the masses; and literature and science cannot give the solution. Faith, not Knowledge or Argument, is our principle of action. . . . Intrinsically excellent and noble as are scientific pursuits and worthy of a place in a liberal education, and fruitful in temporal benefits to the community, still they are not, and cannot be, the instruments of an ethical training. The apprehension of the unseen is the only known principle of subduing moral evil, educating the multitude and organizing society.

And whereas man is born for action, action flows not from inferences, but from impressions—not from reasonings, but from Faith.'

It was from an instinct like that which Newman thus attempts to put into words that the older type of Englishmen (and many still living) distrusted the panacea of education. Many of them were unbelievers, but wanted the masses to believe. Some had a wistful reverence for the Christian religion but regarded it as a lost cause which the enlightened must discard. Many, especially in India, would have liked the public schools to teach religion but shrank from the political peril of seeming to attempt interference with the religious faiths of the people. Consequently, their interest in education was weakened by hesitations. Their hand faltered on the plough-tail before the furrow had been cut. But there is this to be said for their psychological insight. Both in Germany and America, where modern education was effectively pressed home on the masses of the people, it was exalted into something very like an article of faith. But the critical English mind is not idolatrous, and feels some distaste for what it suspects of being half a fetich.

There was another cause, hardly less profound, for the English distrust of systems of state education for the masses. What, these men asked, is the implicit social aim of the education which you propose to provide and to compel people to receive? What is its suppressed premise? What its unconscious principle? Is it the purpose which Samuel Taylor Coleridge borrowed from Fichte—Fichte who was a *fons et origo belli*—namely, 'to form and train up the people of the country to *obedient*, free, useful and *organizable* subjects, citizens and patriots, living to the benefit of the state and prepared to die in its defence'? A noble doctrine, but how apply it to 'subject' India? Is not, they asked, modern western education based upon presuppositions of political freedom and of national independence? Is not the literature it calls in aid, is not the

philosophy upon which it rests, soaked in presuppositions of political liberty? How far are you prepared to go in allowing the peoples whom you infect with these ideas to put them into practice? To the utmost limit, say I. Not so, said they.

More than that, education conveys ideas, and ideas are dynamite. Are you sure that the economic structure of a society based upon acquisition will be tough enough to stand the criticisms and the discontents of a hungry but intellectualized proletariat? This anxiety is still strong. As Dr Monroe points out, 'certain American states have recently passed very drastic laws directed towards controlling the economic and political beliefs of teachers. There has developed, or is developing, a new orthodoxy. The question of religious orthodoxy no longer interests the masses of the people or the government authorities. But the question of political and economic orthodoxy does.' If one admits (which I do not) that 'education is the means for determining the culture of a people, and that all individuals should participate in such a culture,' one finds it difficult, as Dr Monroe admits that he finds it difficult, to question the validity of a government's right to control the freedom and the spirit of the schools.

Yet what is education without freedom? And what warnings has not the human race received against empowering any human authority to prescribe what it shall believe and learn? Education should teach a way of life. It must teach it mainly by example, and in simple words for simple minds. But it must respect human personality. It must reverence truth. It must be disinterested. It must honestly open new windows in the mind. Dr Monroe evidently regrets some recent tendencies in American educational administration just as our great-grandfathers regretted the window-tax. But if the claim of the secular Government to the control of opinion through the schools is once admitted, no one can legitimately blame Government for taking measures of disciplinary

coercion against new ideas which happen to be unpalatable to it.

Mr Bernard Shaw, who allows himself poetic licence when he writes about education, thinks that even in England our teachers are muzzled. 'Is there any hope in education?' he asks in his preface to *Back to Methuselah*.[1] 'The usual answer is that we must teach citizenship and political science at school. The hard fact is that we must *not* teach political science or citizenship at schools. The schoolmaster who attempted it would soon find himself penniless in the streets without pupils, if not in the dock pleading to a pompously worded indictment for sedition. Our schools teach the morality of feudalism corrupted by commercialism, and hold up the military conqueror, the robber baron and the profiteers as models of the illustrious and the successful. . . . There is no way out through the schoolmaster. Mankind cannot be saved by schoolmasters or by any other sort of masters. It can only be lamed or enslaved by them.'

But the crucial test of the theory that the state is to develop a national social 'culture' through its schools was made in Germany before the war. 'On balance,' writes Dr Walther Rathenau, 'the endowments of the German people work out as follows:—High qualities of intellect and heart. Ethics and mentality normal. Originative will-power and independent activity weak. We give our devotion freely, and the heart rules in action. Our feelings are genuine and powerful. We have courage and endurance. . . . But in obedience we know no limit, and never question what is imposed on us. . . . For character and will we substituted discipline. But discipline is not nationality: it is an external instrument, and, when it breaks, it leaves—nothing.[2]

In a striking passage in his article in the last issue of this Review, Dr Monroe writes that 'during the past two hundred years two great political forces have been opera-

[1] London: Constable, 1921. Pp. x ff.

[2] *The New Society*, pp. 92, 97.

tive in society—that of democracy and that of nationality.' But he would doubtless allow that, along with these, other great political forces have been at work. Such are individualism, industrial and commercial enterprise, internationality, and militarism. Some of these forces are discordant with one another. Hence have sprung the struggles, inward and outward, in all peoples in modern history. An educational discipline which sought to concentrate in the life of a nation one or two of these forces, and set itself to repress or ignore the others, would in course of time explode. In Germany, the explosion has already taken place. Modern education needs many safety valves. The theory that the state should by means of education repress tendencies which are disagreeable to its taste suggests a policy of sitting on the safety valves.

National education in the true sense is a spirit of living influence, a spiritual and intellectual atmosphere. It may, or it may not, exert much of its influence through some mechanism, new or old—through a mechanism expressly set up for the purpose or by traditional convenience employed for it. True, it comprises many material things, such as buildings, equipments, books, laboratories, as well as much systematic organization such as are rules for the order of studies, for the licensing of teachers, for the conduct of inspection and for the apportioning of money grants. But national education is not a mechanical fabric of codes and subsidies. It is a much more penetrating and subtle thing. Its chief influences are spiritual and atmospheric and therefore for the most part unorganizable. In their operation they are little subject to bureaucratic control. For the erection of a national system of education in any true sense of the words there is required either a stable order of society on which to build (and a stable order of society implies a stable faith) or such a moment of ardent spiritual unity as sometimes, though not always, follows a collapse of the outer fabric of national life. The inner life of a people, its character

and predisposition, determine the main lines of its education. No system of education, artificially constructed and imposed upon it, can permanently change the inward character of the people or, even under the arrogant name of *Kultur*, shape its life. National education is not a matter of schools alone. It requires schools: it requires the organized provision of good and tested teaching in all subjects necessary to be learnt. In this manner, intellectually, it knits the generations each with each. More than this, it must seek to furnish opportunities for the effective development and training of individual wills. But, essentially, it is a sort of envelope of varied influences (some didactic, some social, some economic, some mental) which act on the sympathies, the imagination, the judgment and the will, stimulating all alike into activity but imparting no identity of belief or of ideal or of prejudice. All that it can do is to impart a certain uniformity of tone to the complexion of the mind, a certain predisposition to conform to a general type. And fortunate is the nation which by inbred power produces variations of type and has diversity in its unity. Such a nation may not be able to boast of a tidily organized 'system of national education,' but it may produce great poets and sages, great captains in war and in industry, great statesmen and divines, and unknown heroes and heroines. It may enrich the world with new discoveries and with creative ideas. It brooks no standardized culture. It has an instinctive dread of a system of education which makes people intellectually impressionable without at the same time increasing their reserve of moral strength. It suspects that it is possible to overstimulate the intellectual susceptibility of large numbers of people of mediocre talent, without adding much to the sound stock of critical and practical judgment. And, above all, while heartily admiring some of the achievements of modern state education and sorrowfully admitting its own shortcomings in regard to educational liberality and to educational technique, such a people realizes the fact that modern

education has been on the whole a destructive force, scouring away old traditions, disturbing old ways of life, breaking down former restrictions and discrediting old valuations. A critical and eliminatory force of this kind may have been needed by the modern world. Revolutions do not happen without cause. But our final judgment upon some modern educational ideas may be reserved until we have seen to what reconstruction of society they lead. As we are not inclined to admire what Dr Rathenau calls 'an excitable and loquacious generation, prizing success and hostile to all superiority,' we may well continue to allow a certain variety in our educational influences and institutions, in order that temporarily unpopular or temporarily undervalued ways of life may still have shelter in some corners of our national education.

How different and how difficult are the problems of education with which we teachers, whether at home or in the mission field, have to contend! Are we not right, though we respect profoundly the skilled practitioner in the act of teaching, in distrusting any cocksureness in educational prescriptions? Education, as Dean Church said,[1] is 'one of the greatest and hardest tasks which it lies on each generation of human society to fulfil. So great, so difficult, so full of unexplored and unknown conditions, and apparently contradictory requirements that human thought and human wisdom are not wide enough to take in the whole field it presents to them; they still stand perplexed and baffled before many of its important problems. . . . We come more and more to see how in all its parts it must be a combination of authority and liberty: how essential it is that with discipline and control there should also be frank confidence and trust: how teacher and scholar act and react on one another: how much the scholar has to give and to teach, how greatly he must be induced to contribute to his own education, if it is to be a successful one. . . . In the eventful and hazardous interval which

[1] *Pascal and other Sermons* (London: Macmillan, 1896), p. 217.

all must cross between childhood and manhood, two terrible powers of evil are to be met with in each man's path—ignorance and sin. If education is to have its perfect work, both must be encountered, both must be defeated. It only fulfils half its office, it works with a maimed and distorted idea, unless it deals with character as well as with intelligence: unless it opens and enlightens the mind, as well as directs and purifies and fortifies the will.' Dean Church here speaks of education as if it ended at school or college. But no one knew better than he that education begins in the cradle and ends on the death-bed.

Initiation into a way of life is therefore a desirable, if not an indispensable, element in a liberal education. Religion assigns their relative values to the various good things which a man may enjoy but must learn how to use. Education in its wider sense is therefore impoverished unless it has the directive guidance of religion and its help in discriminating between the worthy and the less worthy ideals of life. Life may become brutish and bleak without religion. And what is true of life is true also of education, because education is the accompaniment of life as well as a preparation for it.

We believe that the Christian faith and the Christian experience teach, reveal, communicate the Way, the Truth and the Life. This is the priceless treasure of a Christian education.

In its most intense forms, Christian education seeks some degree of seclusion, of immunity from discordant and disquieting interruption. It invites us to submit heart and mind to an influence which is concentrated and unified, though not narrow in its outlook or unfaithful to new truth. Some temperaments, it is true, are repelled by anything that savours of the seminary. And, out of the great multitude of schools and colleges aided by public funds, only a few may be able to conform to a type of education so exclusive. Even in our Christian schools we find it necessary to admit to the teaching staff some who do not

profess the Christian faith. But we are thankful that under modern conditions of public opinion and of government we can usually secure in our publicly aided institutions in England and elsewhere so much at any rate of opportunity for Christian teaching and training as enables those who desire to do so to learn the Way and the Truth, which, if believed in, determine for us the relative values of what life can offer. The Christian faith helps us to know our duty. Where this is made impossible by the Government, the Christian school has no choice. It must refuse to accept the conditions imposed by the Government. But we may take some pride in the fact that, wherever modern English example has influenced educational administration, reasonable toleration has hitherto prevailed. Such toleration will be less likely to prevail if Governments allow themselves to regard national education as a province in which, for political reasons, they are at liberty to impose an orthodoxy of their own. But only those whose knowledge of educational history is imperfect would expect such restrictive methods of educational governance to succeed for long. Statesmen, however wilful and authoritative, cannot systematize the unsystematizable.

M. E. Sadler

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MISSIONARY TO PUBLIC QUESTIONS

By CHARLES R. WATSON, D.D.

Any one who will compare modern missionary literature with that of twenty years ago will be struck by the large place which is now given to public questions. To compare the reports of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and the report of the great missionary gathering in New York City in 1900, is to be impressed with the changed emphasis which appears in the discussions of the two gatherings. This changed emphasis appears not only where different speakers are compared, but even in the addresses of those who happened to be in the gatherings both of 1900 and of 1910. The wider outlook is everywhere noticeable.

In discussing the relationship of the missionary to public questions, however, it will be well to face frankly the fact that many view with apprehension this broadening of the Christian missionary objective, resulting, as they believe, in a weakening of the Christian message and the diffusion of missionary effort over so wide an area as to rob it of penetrating power. They would say or their misgivings would seem to imply a protest such as this: 'Let the missionary limit himself to the Gospel message, and aim at the conversion of men, and public questions will take care of themselves.' It may be wise, therefore, to begin by pointing out the justification for the representatives of a Christian missionary agency sustaining any relationship to questions that are designated by many as secular.

In the first place, we may justify this interest in public questions by pointing to those who are to be counted among

the greatest missionary characters. The slave trade and the liquor traffic in Africa were constantly discussed by David Livingstone. The time and thought expended by Alexander Duff in the influencing of the educational policy of India were enormous, and the results were commensurate. John Mackenzie gave of his strength and influence unreservedly to public questions in South Africa. It is the pride of missions to-day that through Guido Verbeck the Christian missionary movement had a hand in the political reconstruction of Japan along modern lines. So far from its being a departure from the faith for a missionary to address himself to public questions, it will mean his coming into line with the true apostolic succession of great missionary leaders.

In the second place, this interest in public questions grows legitimately out of a deeper appreciation in our day of the scope of the Gospel of Christ. Whatever the influences were which for some decades seemed to restrict the vision of the Church's sphere of influence and action, recent years have witnessed a sharp rebound and revulsion from those restrictions. It is frankly and fearlessly claimed to-day that Christ's message is to the whole of life and that there are no neutral zones of political, social and industrial life within which Christian morality may not press its claim and conquest. Men are seeing that it is not to dim the glory of Christ but to reveal it, it is not to reduce faith but to challenge it, for the Church to declare every sphere of human life open to Christian conquest and rule.

A further justification for this interest in public questions on the part of a Christian missionary lies in the fact that a present-day situation, which is almost universal, has seemed to create a special necessity for bringing Christianity to bear upon public questions. In an age when the social and political structure appears to be fixed and unchanging, the missionary can well address himself to individual life alone, but this is not the situation to-day. It seems as

if the upheavals of the great war have flung upon the scrap-heap time-honoured conceptions and have discredited forms of organization in which hitherto humanity has placed absolute reliance. In such a time, when the social structure is plastic, when men are seeking new and better ways in international and national life, in social and industrial life, Christianity has new demands made upon it. It must make its distinctive contribution to the vital issues that are now before the world. This is its great opportunity. But even if Christian leaders were blind to the opportunity, necessity is laid upon them to lend a hand. Especially is this true in non-Christian lands which are now astir with the new life and in the throes of more significant political and social reconstruction than are even the nations of the West. In such lands the Christian missionary cannot be indifferent to public questions.

It should also be recognized that a certain compulsion is being laid upon the modern missionary to bear a relationship to public questions because of certain new political conceptions and policies now widely accepted by governments. For example, in practically all mission lands, governments are giving increasing attention to education, medical supervision and religious propaganda. The war revealed what vital factors these influences were in human life, and on the other hand, modern conceptions of the state and of its functions are leading governments increasingly everywhere to assert their rights and sovereignty within these spheres. The missionary, ever so desirous to be left alone in a so-called religious sphere and to insulate himself, is not permitted to do this. He is forced into relations with the government and its policies, which means that he must sustain a relation to public questions, a relation which will be negative if he is not willing to make it positive and constructive.

It is to be observed, finally, that in the foreign mission fields there is a particular justification in the missionary interesting himself in public questions because the mission-

ary is dealing with a particular phase of the development of Christianity within that country. It is only necessary to study the history of Christianity in western lands to discover that at a period not so very remote, the Church nurtured many interests that have since become so very greatly developed as to both require and enable them to live quite independently of the Church. It ought not to be forgotten that many elements of our modern life, now unrelated to the Church, had their beginnings within the Church. The movements and agencies which to-day represent philosophy, science, philanthropy, education and moral reforms, all found their beginnings within the Church. The missionary in many non-Christian lands is dealing with primitive conditions both as regards the development of the country in which he labours and the development of the Christian movements which he is promoting. In these lands, the specialized agencies which Christianity has fully developed in western lands have not yet even been brought into existence. Independent agencies for dealing with modern reform, the suppression of vice, industrial justice, education, temperance and similar public questions, are non-existent and cannot be developed overnight. Thus, even though the Church in western and Christian lands might be legitimately assigned a narrower sphere of activity, in the foreign field such a limitation is for the present impossible because of the absence of the separate Christian agencies that might take up the work.

The particular public questions with which the missionary movement should concern itself will vary naturally with the field and with the moment in history. Yet the range of public questions that may come up is very wide. There will be political questions: such as the Shantung problem, which has affected Chinese feeling so deeply that missionaries and societies working in China can hardly escape it; for Korean missionaries the policy of Japan in Korea; the official recognition of a state religion; or the

national aspirations of a country like Egypt or India. Other public questions may have to do with education, as in many fields at the present time. Still other public questions of vital concern to the missionary are those which have to do with justice in the social sphere, such as the recent Circular on Native Labour in British East Africa; with the protection of children, such as the Factory Reform Bill which became operative in Japan in 1916; with the elevation of woman; with vice, such as the measures taken to check immorality in Tokyo; with temperance; with caste, such as the Baroda Caste Usages Bill in India; with slavery; and with famine relief measures, such as those for the Near East and China.

It may serve to bring out the problems involved in the relation of the missionary to public questions generally if a single present-day instance be considered. In Egypt the national aspirations of the Egyptians for independence and self-determination are engaging wide-spread interest and discussion. Many are the important questions that are being asked. Will the country enjoy the material prosperity equal to what it now has? Will the administration of justice lapse seriously? What about the native Christian minority: will their life be safeguarded? Will the rights and liberties of the foreign missionaries be protected? What should the missionary's attitude be toward the abolition of the Capitulations and therefore toward extra-territoriality? Will Egyptian independence affect adversely the educational opportunity of the missionary? With self-government, who will really govern the country? Will the inner group that governs Egypt be so small as to make wholly meaningless the democratic meaning of self-government?

Obviously these questions differ greatly in character. Some directly concern the very life and character of the missionary movement, such as those relating to religious liberty. Doubtless even the most conservative would say that the missionary should be concerned with such ques-

tions. But is this enough? Is there not a touch of corporate selfishness if the concern for Egyptian nationalism is only as it may affect the privileges of the Christian missionary? Is it not a worthier position to take to be genuinely interested in the whole range of questions, viewing these problems not from the point of view of self-interest, but from the standpoint of the welfare of the Egyptian people? Are we entitled to go further and hold that the Christian missionary is a trustee of certain Christian principles and conceptions affecting the state and should seize every opportunity to pass on to the nation that he is serving the important values of his Christian political faith and the helpful guidance of his own political birthright? Or does he thereby become too much involved in what are primarily political issues? When the people among whom he labours are embarking on new paths of self-government, is it entirely Christian for a missionary to withhold such counsel and guidance as his larger experience may enable him to give?

To pass from a concrete illustration, certain general principles may be pointed out for the guidance of the missionary in his relation to public questions in any country.

One is that the missionary should limit his advocacy to moral issues and principles and should not identify himself with specific programs nor with political parties. There are times when the distinction is difficult to draw; times when the concrete proposals before the country seem to call for partisan support of them or opposition to them. Yet it is better to err on the safe side and to adhere strictly to the advocacy of principles, even at the risk of being called academic, impracticable and idealistic.

Another guiding principle is that, generally speaking, the claim of a public question should make insistent demands upon the missionary before he should address himself to it. The issue should seek him, rather than he it. There should be considerable pressure and the importance of the moral issue should be extremely manifest before a missionary

is warranted in entering this field, which is difficult and in a sense foreign to the missionary's normal vocation.

This leads to another guiding principle which carries with it the explanation for referring to the field of public relations as foreign to the missionary's normal calling. As rapidly as conditions permit, the missionary movement should seek to establish direct connexion between the leadership abroad in the several spheres concerned and Christian leadership in similar spheres in our western Christian lands. For example, in the sphere of education in China, the missionary, even a specially trained educational missionary, cannot hope to minister satisfyingly to the great, the overwhelming demands of that great empire for guidance and suggestion in the working out of a national educational policy for China. He and his associates will do what they can, but the part of wisdom will be for them to seek to establish as quickly as possible a vital and direct relationship between the educational leaders of China and the best Christian educational minds of the West. This can be done, first of all, by books which will mediate between the West and the East; then by visits to China by commissions of western educators, and then by visits to western lands by deputations of those charged with the educational responsibilities in China, until finally the educational life of China is brought into the fullest possession of all the rich content of Christian educational ideals in western lands. Beyond this we cannot go; we cannot give what we do not possess. But the missionary movement may serve to introduce the public leaders in the foreign field to the best that our Christian civilization has to offer. Then, in the sphere of public relations, the missionary will decrease while these direct contacts will increase. As in the sphere of education, so may it wisely be in the sphere of Christian political statesmanship, health agencies, industrial justice, moral reform and other public questions. What a wealth of specialized knowledge and experience lie in each of these

spheres in Christian lands which the missionary may help to make available to the foreign field. It was in line with this suggestion that Dr Guido Verbeck exerted so great an influence upon Japan, not merely by his own direct suggestions, but by his co-operation in the appointment of the Iwakura Embassy which, after its studies abroad, ushered in the new day in Japan.

Another guiding principle in this sphere of public questions is one that was enunciated at the Edinburgh Conference in the discussion of the relation of missions to governments, and one that has been almost universally accepted in missionary circles. It is that in determining an attitude to any important public question, the judgment of the entire mission shall be sought, so that the idiosyncrasies of any one missionary may not be permitted to prejudice the position and prestige of the missionary movement in that field. The influence of an entire mission and of the whole missionary movement may be imperilled across years in a given field through the injudicious handling of public questions by a missionary of erratic judgment.

Again, it should be recognized that the handling of public questions is a task that calls for specialized gifts, careful study and considerable time and strength. Provision should be made accordingly within each mission in order that these relations may not be overlooked nor wrongly sustained.

Finally, it is important to maintain a correct perspective in regard to missionary work as a whole. Missionary service in the field of public questions should never be divorced in thought or sympathy from the rest of the work. Success in this sphere ought to result in greater opportunity for evangelistic work and a stronger evangelistic appeal, while success in solving public problems in any mission field will ultimately depend not alone on the abstract presentation of high national ideals, but upon the existence in the body politic and in the social structure, of a sufficient number of converted and regenerated lives to

translate vision into action. The labours of the Christian missionary who deals with public questions, and the achievements of the man who is ministering to individual life, must not be divorced from each other but be mutually related, as contributing alike to the ultimate enthronement of Christ in the life of non-Christian peoples.

A few words may be permitted regarding the qualifications necessary for undertaking the kind of work dealt with in this paper. It is plain that it cannot be undertaken successfully without education and training. Many missionaries have had very little training which would enable them to deal with such problems as have been referred to here when these arise suddenly. Is it too much to ask that a foreign missionary shall know something of his own country's political position, and that as he enters upon his life-work, he shall acquaint himself with the political history, the language and the social ideals of the land to which he goes; likewise with those of the government and nation in control if it be a colonial possession? For example, for effective service in Tunisia, Kamerun and Indo-China, how essential to know the political position of France, the French language and the usages of French social life. Not yet have missionary societies provided adequately in connexion with their training courses, either at home or abroad, the curricula, the text-books, the hand-books, the tests that underlie this subject.

But neither instruction nor books can be a substitute for experience. Prepare as a missionary may by study and training, the real school is that of experience. Actual contacts with government and other officials will reveal the best pathway for service in this difficult field. Here the first task is that of establishing the friendly contact; then comes that of maintaining it. The time for establishing the friendly contact is not during the period of strain and difficulty, but at a time when no difficult issue exists. If a given official is apparently hostile, it is exactly

that man who should be the more carefully cultivated. But generally speaking difficulties develop with those whom we do not know and mere acquaintance tends to solve them. Experience will also make the missionary sensitive to delicate political situations. He will recognize and act upon the maxim that every difficulty is to be solved locally, if possible, and that only as a last resort is appeal to be made to the higher home authorities. Above all, only by experience will he learn the art of accepting a refusal with good grace, not imperilling the contacts, but leaving the way open for another approach under more opportune circumstances.

To deal successfully with public questions makes not less but rather more demands than other missionary activities on the spiritual life of the missionary. Out of the depths of a strong religious life will come that rare combining of fearlessness and humility, of courage and courtesy, of insistence and patience, which qualify for dealing with public questions and with the leaders of national life. It is needless to show how such a deeply religious and spiritual life will be the fullest protection against the spirit of the politician and will convey, beyond all words, an impression of the moral quality of the positions taken and of the disinterested motives that lie behind the representations that are being made.

A word may be said in conclusion regarding the value of such service, difficult and costly as it has been represented to be. It brings the missionary into personal relations with individual lives that can be reached in no other way. A service which is in itself useful is to be prized doubly when it affords contacts with groups of men, often leaders and strong personalities, that would be quite inaccessible otherwise. Furthermore, the service which such work, when successfully accomplished, renders to the whole range of missionary activity is incalculable. It creates conditions more favourable to missionary work and Christian appeal. It helps to open or keep open the door to

missionary liberty. It may right great wrongs. It may help to check immorality. It may help to turn the tide of public opinion in the direction of righteousness. It may help to set up great ideals which leaven social and national life.

Many testimonies might be adduced to the value of such service by Christian missionaries, of which the following is a single example. The Honourable V. K. Wellington Koo, formerly Minister of the Chinese Republic to the United States and now Minister in London, said in a Convocation address at the University of Chicago in 1916: 'Closely allied with, and yet distinctly different from, their work as messengers of the Gospel, is the influence of the missionaries as a factor in the social regeneration of China. Many of the epoch-making reforms, such as the suppression of opium and the abolition of foot-binding, have been brought about with no little encouragement and help from them.'

But, of course, the supreme value to be attached to such service is that it helps to enthrone Christ's will in new spheres of human life. The Christian can be satisfied with nothing less than a realization of the divine will in every department of human life and thought, in social life as well as in individual life, in national life as well as in home life, in educational and industrial life as well as in the Church.

CHARLES R. WATSON

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH IN THE MISSION FIELD

By ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN, D.D.

Since the aim of foreign missions is the Church, the problem of the Church will be with us as long as we have missions. Absence of the problem would mean the absence of the Church, which in turn would mean the failure of the missionary enterprise. During the pioneer period, when converts were few in number, widely scattered, usually ignorant, and without leaders of their own, the problem of the Church was comparatively simple. Now, by the blessing of God upon missionary work, numerous Churches have been developed. Christians of the second and third generations represent increasing strength and stability. Capable leaders are appearing and others are being trained in mission schools. The Churches are becoming conscious of unity and power.

This significant movement in non-Christian lands is attracting scant attention from a preoccupied world. Politicians and generals, poets and scientists, business men and women of society give little heed to the comparatively small groups of Asiatics and Africans who worship the crucified Nazarene. 'No more did the statesmen and the philosophers of Rome understand the character and issues of that greatest movement of all history, of which their literature takes so little notice. That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians, and that they should have treated as simply contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or evil, the most powerful moral

lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men, are facts well worthy of meditation in every period of religious transition.'[1] This movement is being reproduced in our day in lands of which the early disciples had never heard. Humble but earnest men and women are hearing the good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people. The scenes so graphically described in the New Testament are being re-enacted on a wider scale throughout the mission fields of the twentieth century.

The rise of these Churches is an inspiration to every Christian, but the resultant problems are among the most difficult that we have to solve. They vitally affect the conditions under which missionary work must now be conducted and involve extensive readjustments in our attitude and methods. We of the West should carefully study these rising Churches in order that we may aid them effectively, avoid harmful policies, and co-operate harmoniously with them as they grow in grace and power.

It has become trite to say that the Churches that we seek to develop should be self-propagating, self-supporting, social serving and self-governing. These characteristics are now accepted as axiomatic. We may wisely inquire, however, whether satisfactory progress in these directions is being made.

As for self-propagation, we must admit that progress is not as marked in many fields as we had hoped that it would be. It is true that there are notable exceptions. The Christians in Korea or Uganda, for example, are widely known for their zeal in giving the Gospel to their neighbours and friends. From unpromising beginnings their Churches have multiplied wonderfully. We should, too, bear in mind that the natural presumption would be that Christianity would gain very slowly in lands where it is regarded with suspicion as an alien faith, and at variance with long-established customs and deeply rooted prejudices. It took three hundred years for Christianity to make even a nominal

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, i. 359.

conversion of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Protestant missionary work was begun but a little over a century ago. In a large part of the non-Christian world it is not half a century old, while some important fields have been occupied within the last two decades. In these circumstances it is perhaps remarkable that the average annual increase in the foreign field is three and a half times that of the churches in the United States. Numbers are not always a fair test of success, but it is surely hopeful that within the first hundred years of modern missions, the number of Christians in the mission field was at least twice as large as the number of Christians in the whole world at the end of the first century of the Christian era.

But while we may justly comfort ourselves by these considerations, we should not ignore the fact that in a disquieting number of fields the native Christians appear to have only a weak sense of responsibility for the propagation of the Gospel among their own people. Perhaps the home Churches should be rather modest about pressing a criticism of this kind, for is it not painfully true that the average Christian feels little responsibility for bringing others to Christ? Surely a searching of heart on this subject is needed both at home and abroad.

In self-support, too, we wish that we could report more satisfactory progress. It is true here, as in the case of self-propagation, that some fields have made notable advance until their Churches have become so solidly established that if the missionaries were to withdraw the Churches would undoubtedly be sustained by their own people. On the other hand, there are many fields in which desirable progress in self-support is not being made. A board which has conducted missionary work in India for eighty-seven years and whose extensive present work in that country represents an expenditure of $520,000 gold annually, has only five churches in all India that are self-supporting. But if we eliminate the contributions of missionary families and of native members who are employed by missionaries,

only one congregation is so maintained that it could survive if missionaries were to be withdrawn. That board, one of the largest in the world, reports only thirty-four self-supporting ' churches and groups ' in China, none in Mexico and Persia, and only six in all South America. Out of a total of 1331 self-supporting ' churches and groups,' 1153 are in a single mission, leaving but 178 for all the rest of that board's widely extended work.

Some of the reported progress in self-support requires qualification. For example, in the mission referred to as having 1153 self-supporting churches and groups, 784 are not organized churches, but simply ' groups ' of believers who are called self-supporting because they pay their local expenses, but they require the superintendence of a considerable force of missionaries whose salaries and expenses are not counted, while, except for the primary schools connected with local village churches, the burden of maintaining the extensive educational, medical, literary and general administrative work falls so largely upon the mission that its annual budget from its home board is over $300,000. Special grants during the year for new properties and other purposes swell the annual cost of that mission to about half a million dollars annually. Work in a given field can hardly be considered as moving very rapidly toward self-support when the demands for money from the home Churches instead of diminishing with the growth of the native Church, actually increase from year to year. Some of the most expensive missions in the world to-day are those which have the largest native Churches. Surely there must be an end to this process sometime. If we are to admit that the more successful the work of establishing a church the heavier is the obligation of the home Churches to sustain its varied needs, it is not difficult to foresee disaster.

The lesson is clear. We must be careful to get the work rooted in native soil as soon as possible so that it will be able to stand without foreign props. We must insist

that the native Christians shall support it as far as practicable and as soon as practicable. Our duty is to start Christianity in non-Christian lands, not to maintain it indefinitely; to teach the Gospel, to found its institutions, to aid them so far as necessary in their infancy, but to insist that as soon as practicable the Churches shall stand upon their own foundations. We must be patient and reasonable, for now as of old it is usually the common people who hear Christ gladly, and in the mission field the common people are pitifully poor. But the spirit of self-help is as vital to character abroad as it is at home, and we must not pauperize the Christians in the mission field by an unwise charity. They paid heavily for the support of their old religions, and there is no reason why they should not do at least as much to support their new faith. It is highly imprudent to turn the expectation of native Christians toward the Churches of Europe and America instead of toward themselves. It is easier to appeal to a board in London or New York than it is for the individual believer to do as the Christians of the first century did, and as socialists are now doing—that is, accept without pay the privilege and responsibility of communicating one's message to others. Why should a follower of Christ, anywhere in the world, whether in Chicago, Manchester, or Peking, assume that he is under no obligation to witness for Christ unless somebody hires him to do so?

In social service, the record of progress is more satisfactory. We are done with the old idea that the Church should concern itself only with selected individuals and leave the world to toboggan unhindered to the devil; that one can be a Christian as a man and a pagan as a citizen; that the gospel of Christ applies only to persons in their private relations and has nothing to do with the same persons when organized as communities and nations; and that the Church is merely an ambulance stationed at the bottom of a precipice to care for some of those who have fallen over but with no responsibility for the conditions

at the top which are constantly precipitating human beings over the precipice. We should not, however, go to the other extreme by insisting that the pre-eminent duty of the Church is not to preach the Gospel but to effect social reforms. This would be a false alternative. No such distinction is permissible between the Gospel and social service rightly understood. I believe, with all my heart, that the supreme duty of the missionary enterprise is to make Jesus Christ intelligently known as Saviour and Lord, to induce men to accept Him as such, and to aid them in establishing the Church. Evangelistic work, therefore, should be first in importance always and everywhere. But when the Gospel is introduced among a non-Christian people, we should not leave converts to ascertain and work out unaided its meaning in human society. It has taken western Christians many centuries to learn this lesson. Why should we leave Asiatics and Africans to stumble along for the same number of centuries ? It is a reproach to the Churches of America and Europe that they have so largely left the outworking of the Gospel in society to independent and voluntary organizations.

The problem of self-government is perhaps the most acute of present-day problems in connexion with the Church in the mission field. Missionaries and missionary societies have long advocated self-government in theory. But when should it be put into practice ? Ay, there's the rub. There is room for wide difference of opinion as to whether a particular church has attained that maturity and soberness of judgment which fit it to manage its own affairs and to shape its own theological and ecclesiastical development. It may be that in some places independence is coming before the Church is really fitted for it. And yet it is perhaps only right that we should consider whether we ought to be the final judges of fitness. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors would not permit other Churches to decide when they were competent to govern themselves. They felt that they were the proper persons to determine that.

Nor did American Christians allow their mother Churches in Europe to settle this question for them. Everywhere in the history of Protestant Christianity the principle has been recognized that any considerable body of believers has the right to decide for itself whether or not it should be dependent upon others. Shall we deny to the Churches in the mission field a right which we cherish as fundamental?

We should take into consideration the natural disposition of man, from which even grace does not emancipate, to hold on to power as long as possible. It is notoriously difficult for a parent to realize that a son is growing up to manhood and is entitled to decide some questions for himself. This is even more apt to be true of the home Church and the mission in dealing with native Christians of a different race, who never will see some things as we see them or be disposed to do some things as we have done them. It is extremely difficult, in such circumstances, for the missionary to pursue a wise course between the extremes of prematurely hastening and unduly retarding the independence of the Church. We must balance our own judgment with the clearly expressed judgment of the native Christians themselves, and with our belief in the common guidance of the Spirit of God.

Really self-governing Churches on the foreign field are depressingly few. A sympathetic New York pastor returned from a tour among some of the missions in Asia to say that the only self-governing Church that he found was in Japan, the Churches in the other fields that he visited being simply appendices of the missions. Exception might be taken to this generalization, but regarding missionary work as a whole, the ascendency of the foreigner is incontestable. A peculiarly difficult phase of the relationship of the missionary to the native Church is becoming acute in lands where an exceptionally high grade of men are entering the service of the Church. Present methods impress them as involving subordination to the missionary. They resent it and the missionary laments it.

Two methods of solving this problem have been suggested. The first is to make a few of the best qualified native Christians members of the mission. The late Rev. Dr K. C. Chatterjee of India urged this method. He said that 'As they have the same educational qualifications and training as the foreign missionaries, they ought to have the same status and privileges; they ought to be associated in counsel and administration and allowed to vote in all mission matters; or in other words, they ought to be made full members of the mission. Fairness requires this.'

Some of the missionaries sympathize with their Indian brethren in this matter. They assert that such men are their equals; that they have greater influence over the Indians; that the appointment of even one or two would be a recognition of the Indian Churches which would have a most happy effect in conciliating the resentment that is now felt; that the present policy practically makes the foreigners a close corporation and a higher caste; and that the missionary and the talented Indian leader ought to meet on the same official level.

The second proposed solution is to transfer a large part of the present powers of the mission to the native Church. This we believe to be the wiser course. The first proposal, namely, to keep the mission with its present powers and make natives members of it, impresses the writer as wholly impracticable, for the following reasons:

First: It would perpetuate the present unfortunate distinction between the foreign mission and the native Church and emphasize the subordination of the latter. The mission is amenable to the American or European Church through the board which appoints and maintains its missionaries. This appears to be inevitable as the home Churches are now constituted. Therefore to put the leaders of the native Church into the mission is not to give them the liberty which they desire but to rivet the bonds of dependence, since they would become members of a body which never can be independent of foreign control

Second: About nineteen-twentieths of the money now expended on the foreign field comes from Europe and America. It is a sound principle that money should be administered by those who are selected by the representatives of the donors and who can be held to accountability for its use. The mission, being composed of missionaries, can be held to this accountability through its board. The native Church cannot be. It is not and should not be subject to a foreign board in a distant land. It is no reflection upon the Christians in the mission field to say that very few of them have had the experience in handling large sums of money that would qualify them to be prudent trustees of contributed funds. Men who have had little or no training in business methods and who have never handled more than one hundred dollars a year in their lives, are not the men to administer wisely several hundred thousand dollars of other people's money.

Home donors must also be considered. They are manifesting a disposition to look more closely into the business methods of the missionary societies, and their gifts are influenced in no small degree, not only by their confidence in the wisdom of missionary administration, but by the fact that the societies are legally incorporated bodies that are subject to the laws and courts of the country in which the donors reside and also to the denominational bodies to which the donors belong. The latter therefore feel that they are giving their money to an agency that is in their own country, that they personally know, that they can watch, and that they can hold to legal and ecclesiastical accountability. This safeguard would be lacking if the administration were to be turned over to a large number of bodies in far distant lands that are not, and should not be, subject to the control of an alien agency. If it be said that the Asiatics or Africans would be a minority in the mission, we reply that once the principle of appointing them is adopted, we cannot be sure of that. In accordance with our aim, the mission should decrease before the growing

Church. It might easily be that the number of properly qualified natives, developing among the millions in a given field, would ere long outnumber the score or so of foreigners; while if the mission insisted on keeping them in the minority, the friction would be greater than it is now, for that would inevitably be construed as implying jealousy and distrust.

Third : The appointment of native ministers as members of a mission is not a local matter. If the arguments for it are valid for one field, they are for others, and the question is reduced to the determination of qualifications. The boards should consider whether the missionaries as a whole favour such a policy. We have frequently raised the question in conference with missionaries, but we do not recall a single place where missionaries have desired the appointment of native ministers as members of the mission except in two local fields where the object was to secure recognition of particular individual native Christians. The question, however, is not simply the recognition of two or three remarkable men, but the adoption of a principle which will be applicable to any number of such men. Is there not danger that personal regard for a few exceptional individuals may warp the judgment as to the larger policy which should be adopted ?

It is often desirable to remind ourselves of fundamental principles, lest we allow sporadic cases to drift us into policies that are antagonistic to our true aims. We can hardly state too often that, while the immediate object of the missionary is to present Christ to men with a view to their personal acceptance of Him as Saviour and Lord, the ultimate aim is the establishment of the Church. No non-Christian land will ever become Christian as long as its Christianity is an exotic, propagated by foreigners and dependent upon them. The sphere of the mission in any field is temporary ; that of the native Church is permanent. Though it may be necessary for the mission to remain in a given country for a long period, we must never for an instant forget that our object is not to establish an American Church

in Asia, or an English Church, but an Asiatic Church, and that the time will come when that Church will and should control itself.

These are axioms of missionary policy that are universally accepted as sound. Have they no bearing upon the question now under discussion? Surely they mean that we should endeavour to build up a permanent and authoritative native Church, and transfer work and responsibility to it as it is able to receive them. It follows that the native leaders should find their sphere in the Church rather than in the mission. In every conference, association and presbytery of the Church, the native minister is on a parity with the missionary who joins it, and with the growth of the Church the native ministers and elders will ere long have a majority. Indeed they have it now in a number of fields. If we are to transfer the coming leaders of the Churches in Asia from the permanent native Church to the temporary foreign mission, where they will be amenable to the authority of a board in Europe or America and in a position to exercise a power over trust funds for which they cannot be held responsible, we might as well abandon hope of ever realizing our aim of a self-supporting and self-governing Church in the mission field. Such a policy would be certain to demoralize the Churches.

It is objected that the 'native Church has no real power.' Why not? Manifestly, for one or all of three reasons: First, because it is not yet capable of wisely using power; or, second, because its work is still chiefly dependent on foreign funds; or, third, because the missions and the boards have been too slow to recognize the proper functions of the Church. Where the first two reasons prevail, it is inevitable that the mission should be the superior body. Self-support and self-government are indissolubly joined. It is as idle in Asia as it is in America to suppose that men can live on the money of others without being dependent upon them. Foreign subsidies mean foreign dependence, and it is folly to suppose that the Churches of

Asia can regularly receive the former without the latter. It might be well to press self-support more strongly from this viewpoint, in order that the native Churches may more clearly realize that if they want to manage themselves, they must more largely maintain themselves, and that as long as the board and the mission foot the bill, they must have a voice in determining the character and amount of the bill. The Church of Christ in Japan frankly recognizes this principle and unhesitatingly accepts its corollary by refusing representation in presbytery to congregations that accept foreign support. In India and China the question is complicated by the fact that in these countries we are not dealing, as in Japan, with Churches that are largely self-supportive and determined to be independent in finance as well as in government, but with Churches that demand independence in government while remaining dependent in support. It is far from the thought of missionaries and boards to make their money a means of retaining control, but it is as futile in Asia as it is everywhere else to imagine that real independence is compatible with financial dependence.

Where the third reason prevails, the board and the mission should immediately attempt to rectify their error. Is it not true, in some places at least, that the missionary continues to exercise the whole power after the Church has become able to assume a part of it? Are there no self-supporting Churches whose pastors are still obliged to obey a missionary? Do the ministers of Asia understand, from actions as well as declarations, that we intend to give them autonomy as fast as practicable? A policy which undervalues the proper jurisdiction of the Church is fundamentally wrong, and we cannot concede the validity of an argument based upon an undervaluation without vitiating an important element in our mission aim.

We are constrained to believe, therefore, that to make native leaders members of the mission would only make matters worse and involve a fatally defective policy. 'The

best results of mission work will be attained only when right lines of distinction are observed between the functions of the native Churches and the functions of the foreign missions; the missions contributing to the establishment of the native Churches and looking forward to passing on into the regions beyond when their work is done, and the native Churches growing up with an independent identity from the beginning, administering their own contributions and resources, unentangled with any responsibility for the administration of the missions or of the funds committed to the missions.' [1]

The question logically follows: If the native minister should not be a member of the mission, should the missionary be a member of the native Church? The native ministers feel that this question is justified by our policy. A statement of the objections to their membership in the mission, and a reminder that their sphere was in the Church as the permanent and ultimately authoritative body, almost invariably elicited the retort: 'If the presbyteries are ours, why do not the missionaries leave them to us? If you will not permit us to join the mission, your men ought not to join our presbytery. As it is, both presbytery and mission are under your control, so that the native minister has no authority whatever.'

Many missionaries, who would cordially agree to all that has been said about trusting the native leaders and magnifying the functions of the Church, nevertheless believe that they are needed in the native Church, that they ought to be under its jurisdiction, and that if they were to withdraw, the Christians would feel that missionaries and missionary money and policy would be wholly beyond their reach. The organization of autonomous Churches in India, Japan, Korea, and several other lands has forced the missionaries in those countries to choose between their home Church and the native Church. The average missionary does not want to sever his connexion with the home

[1] General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1898.

Church and he ought not to do so. His brethren at home will be more deeply interested in him if he retains his membership with them. They will hear his name at every roll-call and have a pride in knowing that one of their number is on the foreign field. When he returns on furlough, he may be chosen to preside over their meetings. American Presbyterian missionaries have twice been elected Moderators of the General Assembly. All this is an advantage to a missionary in strengthening his ties with the homeland, in enabling him to feel that his supporters are thinking about him and praying for him, and it is also a great advantage to the cause of missions in the home Churches. These substantial advantages are sacrificed if the missionary cuts loose from the home Church and joins the Church on the field.

Realizing this, recourse has been had in some instances to the plan of belonging both to the Church in America and the Church on the field. Apart from its doubtful ecclesiastical regularity, this plan places the missionary in an anomalous condition which is unsatisfactory in many ways. The editor of the *Indian Standard* observes :

> The missionaries think that they have cut themselves off from the home Church and fully identified themselves with the Church in India, but of course they have really done nothing of the kind. They are all under their respective mission boards, which are committees of the home Churches. The true presbytery knows nothing of a body of ministers from a foreign land, outnumbering the native ministry and independent of it, and yet dominating all presbyterial action by their vote, and the expedient of cutting the ecclesiastical tie with home does not solve the problem . . . At present the missionaries are virtually in the position of the House of Lords, with this advantage, that they sit and vote in both houses.

The native leaders are not slow to see that the missionary is not really subject to the native Church. When a missionary in Japan said that he regarded himself as under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Church, Dr Uemura replied : ' The missionaries who have joined our presbyteries are in no true sense integral parts of the Japanese Church. They are members in name, but in fact they are under the

control of an outside organization. The churches which are maintained by mission aid are likewise only nominally under the control of presbytery. The real power over them is the mission. Nothing can be done either by the Church or the presbytery without the consent and approval of the missionary in charge. The time has come to have done with all this pretence at co-operation.'

The details of the problem differ in various fields, so that all that we have said does not apply with equal force to every body of missionaries. Some ecclesiastical policies and mission methods give less power to the mission and more to the Church than others. But the fundamental problem is substantially the same in all, namely, missionary domination almost everywhere, except in Japan; and whether it is exercised through a mission outside of the Church or through active membership in it, the result is practically the same.

What then should be the relation of the missionary to the native Church? We reply, that of a corresponding member, with a voice in discussion but without a vote. All the guidance that it is good for the missionary to give, and good for the Church to have, can be given just as well if the missionary is in advisory relations.

It is unwise to organize a Church out of missionaries and their families before there are native Christians, and a presbytery or conference out of missionaries before there are native pastors. This has been done in some fields. Such a policy forces the premature organization of ecclesiastical machinery on the mission field. It creates a Church that will be foreign in spirit. Natives come in one by one to find foreigners in full control, and they are apt to regard the whole institution as alien. Consistent procedure would confine mission membership to missionaries and church membership to native Christians. This would give the native ministers a due sense of responsibility, train them to a self-reliant care of their own work, and lead them to value the Church as the expression of their own religious

convictions and activities. Not without opposition, but slowly and surely, this is coming to be regarded as the logical outcome of sound views of the relation of the missionary to the native Church. The boards can only advise, as they do not possess authority in ecclesiastical matters. Final decision must be left largely to the missionaries and churches. Meantime, it is gratifying to know that all over Asia missionaries are earnestly considering the question of the status of the native Church and are desirous of finding some plan which will give a freer field to it.

The World War has had a bearing upon this problem that we cannot ignore. National pride and selfishness are far more prominently in evidence. It is not surprising that the recrudescence of sectionalism and race prejudice that is so powerfully affecting our own country is manifesting itself in non-Christian lands. I have discussed some important manifestations of this spirit in my book entitled *The Mastery of the Far East*, and I call special attention to the able monograph of Mr J. H. Oldham on *The Missionary Situation after the War*. President Wilson's famous declaration regarding the right of self-determination has fired the imagination of dependent peoples the world over. Koreans, Filipinos, Egyptians and East Indians are demanding independence. Almost everywhere non-Christian peoples are more restive than ever under the domination of foreigners, both political and religious. The attitude of a convert towards a missionary is naturally influenced by this racial spirit. He is still an Oriental, and he shares, to some extent at least, the irritation of proud and ancient races as they see the white man everywhere striving for the ascendancy. The growth of the native Church in numbers and power has developed within it a strong nationalistic feeling, a conviction that the natives should be independent of foreign control in religion as in government. This is, of course, natural; but it involves some readjustments that are not easily made.

It takes a great deal of grace for the missionary, after

having been the supreme authority, to accept a place subordinate to that of the natives whom he has trained. Missionaries in some fields already find themselves in this position, and they would hardly be human if they did not feel uncomfortable. The spirit of independence has become so intense in Japan that many of the native leaders would have the Church refuse to recognize a congregation or preacher that receives foreign aid. The Rev. Masahisa Uemura, the leader of this party, writes :

> Apart from Christ and the Spirit, Japanese Christianity has no need to rely on any one whatever. Sufficient unto itself, resolved to stand alone, it must advance along the whole line towards the realization of this ideal. . . . To depend upon the pockets of foreigners for money to pay the bills is not a situation which ought to satisfy the moral sense of Japanese Christians. Likewise in the realm of religious thought, is it not shameful to accept opinions ready-made, relying on the experience of others instead of one's own? . . . Those of us who are earnestly insisting on the independence of the Church in our country are not moved by narrow nationalistic ideas. . . . We are moved by the positive power of a great ideal. Every nation has its special characteristics. . . . Is it not a great duty which we owe to God and to mankind to develop the religious talent of our people, and to contribute our share to the religious ideas of the world? We cannot believe that the natural talents of our people are of mediocre order. At the present time the thought-world of Europe and America is in a state of ferment and uncertainty. Chaos reigns, and 'darkness broods over the face of the deep.' Is it not our duty at such a time to develop our heaven-bestowed gifts and shed new light in the world?

This is rather an ambitious program, but we applaud such a spirit of self-sacrificing independence as far more helpful than flabby and supine acquiescence in external leadership. We cannot, however, view some phases of the situation without anxiety, nor can we fail to discern how embarrassing the position of the missionaries must be.

What shall be the creed and polity of the native Church, and how far shall the missionary seek to shape them according to his own ideas? This is one of the related problems which is becoming more and more difficult and delicate. The missionary from the West, trained in the tenets of a particular denomination, born and bred to regard its creed

and polity as the ones most in accord with the Word of God, is very apt to feel that they should be repeated on the foreign field. But we must more clearly recognize the right of each autonomous body of Christians to determine certain things for itself. We cannot, indeed, ignore the risks that are involved. There is sometimes ground for grave anxiety. Will the rising Churches of Japan, of China, of India, be soundly evangelical? God grant that they may be. But who is to be the judge of soundness? And in respect of undoubted doctrines, to what extent should we impose our western terminology upon eastern Churches? We must be fair enough to remember that, in the course of nearly two thousand years, Christianity has taken on some of the characteristics of the white races, and that missionaries, inheriting these characteristics, have more or less unconsciously identified them with the essentials. Perhaps this is one reason that Christianity is so often called 'the foreigner's religion,' a saying which indicates an entire misconception of its real character.

We would not minimize the gravity of this question or the perils of premature independence. But let us have faith in our brethren and faith in God. When Christ said that He would be with His disciples alway, He meant His disciples in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe and America. The operations of the Holy Spirit are not confined to the white races. Are we to take no account of His guidance? He is still in the world and will not forsake His own.

Arthur J. Brown

THE PHELPS-STOKES EDUCATION COMMISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By C. T. LORAM, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

In the opinion of many, the greatest contribution which America has made to pedagogical theory and practice has been its inquiring and pragmatical outlook on educational institutions and their products. Where other nations are prepared to base an educational system on authority or tradition, the Americans are always ready to investigate systems of education to find out if they really do produce the results alleged, and if these results are in the best interests of society. Of the need for such a critical attitude of mind and for periodical investigations into educational theory and practice, students of educational history are well aware, for with no other section of the community do the idols of the cave and of the market-place hold greater sway than with schoolmasters, who, by the very nature of their calling as carried on to-day, are so apt to become dogmatic and conservative in their outlook on life and education.

Philanthropic and mission education have probably suffered more than other types of education from this restricted outlook on the problems of the day, partly because of the narrow training received by so many missionaries, which results in an educational outlook untouched by the illuminating studies of psychology, sociology and anthropology, and partly because the educands—to use Professor Adams' useful word—are by reason of their ignorance and dependence unable to be critical of the education meted out to them. The need for a body of competent educators capable of criticizing constructively

the work of well-intentioned but often mis-directed mission institutions has been supplied by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which has undertaken the highly important task of surveying the educational work of missions and philanthropic bodies in America and elsewhere, and of making educational use of its criticisms through a wise and generous publicity and by affording or introducing moral and material assistance for deserving institutions and causes. It is estimated that thousands of pounds are wasted yearly through the undiscriminating charity of philanthropists, and this is especially the case with Negro education, for many good people think it sufficient if the black folk have churches and schools without inquiring what kinds of schools and what kinds of churches they have and ought to have.

After completing an exhaustive study of the education of the American Negro and publishing a report which has become and must remain for a long time to come the authoritative statement of the Negro's educational situation,[1] the trustees of the Fund very generously acceded to the request of mission bodies in America and Europe to arrange for a co-operative study of the systems of mission education in Equatorial, West and South Africa, with particular reference to the suitability of the education given to the needs of the African peoples. The personnel of the African Educational Commission, as it was called, consisted of Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, the educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, as chairman, Mr L. A. Roy, secretary and a specialist in industrial education, Dr H. E. Hollenbeck, a medical missionary with special knowledge of health conditions in the tropics, Dr J. E. K. Aggrey, a Native of the Gold Coast and lecturer in sociology and economics in Livingstone College, North Carolina, and certain missionaries and educators co-opted during the tour for their knowledge of local conditions. It was

[1] *Negro Education : A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Coloured People in the United States.* Prepared in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, specialist in the education of racial groups, Bureau of Education. 2 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

the writer's privilege and good fortune to be attached to the Commission by the Government of South Africa at the request of Dr Jones and his associates and to accompany it through its South African tour from February 12 to April 2, 1921. During this time we travelled over 7000 miles together, visited educational institutions in the four provinces and Rhodesia, and discussed the education of natives with teachers, missionaries and government officials.

The administration of Native education in the Union of South Africa devolves upon the provincial governments, except in the case of the South African Native College at Fort Hare near Lovedale, which, being an institution of 'higher education,' comes under the direction of the Union Department of Education. The treatment, financial and otherwise, afforded to the Native schools by the four provinces is very much a reflex of the attitudes towards the Native peoples as a whole, the Cape Province being undoubtedly the most liberal. The number of the Native schools under government supervision or aid in the several provinces and the amounts spent on Coloured and Native education during the year 1918 were as follows: Cape, 2008 schools and £230,489; Natal, 398 schools and £50,992; Transvaal, 346 schools and £42,260; Orange Free State, 125 schools and £4000.

All these provinces differ in administration, curricula, classification of teachers, etc., so that it is not possible to speak of *a* South African system of Native education. All the provinces, except the Orange Free State, have now separate sub-departments of Native Education, but it was felt by the Commission that it would be more economical and would lead to better work if the administration and control of Native education were placed in the hands of the Union Government. The chief argument in favour of this is that, since Native affairs have been vested by the Act of Union in the Central Government, it is difficult to have Native schools, which are so closely bound up with the development of the Native people, controlled by

another authority. Further arguments are the disadvantages of the different standards of education, the possibility of a parochial attitude in what should be a national matter, and the inequalities of financial treatment. The Native in the Transvaal who pays two pounds per annum in poll tax, cannot understand why his brother in the Cape, who pays only ten shillings per hut, should receive educational advantages so much greater. There is, indeed, a strong movement in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, both from Europeans and Natives, in favour of Union control, which is, however, counteracted by opinions in the Cape and Natal, where it is feared that any Union control might result in a levelling down to the standards of the Transvaal and Orange Free State instead of a levelling up to the standards of the Cape and Natal.

Almost all the Native schools in South Africa are conducted by mission bodies with financial assistance from the provincial Governments. In the Cape, however, there are a number of schools, especially in urban areas, controlled by the school boards, while in Natal the Provincial Department of Education conducts fifty Native schools with the help of school committees. There is a growing demand from the Natives for state as opposed to mission education, and much as we may deplore the apparent lack of gratitude for past missionary effort it would not be wise to resist the establishment of government schools provided that satisfactory provision is made for religious instruction. The Commission felt that a satisfactory way out of the difficulty had been found in Natal, where the Government at the request of the missionaries took over their schools, paid a rent for the use of the building during school hours, retained the missionary as chairman of the school committee and introduced a government syllabus of religious instruction which had been drawn up by the Native Education Advisory Board, which is a board of missionaries constituted by Statute. The establishment of a government Native school has often been the means of ending de-

nominational rivalry and of relieving a financially harassed missionary for evangelistic work. The Commission noticed that there was genuine appreciation on the part of the Government and Europeans of the work done by missionary bodies and that it was not likely that any system of Native education would be evolved which did not perpetuate Christian teaching and secure the co-operation of missionaries.

With regard to school buildings the position in South Africa is chaotic. For the most part the schools are conducted in the church buildings erected by the Natives, which are generally speaking poorly built, ill lighted and badly ventilated. The tradition of the narrow Gothic church window of Europe has been imposed upon a country where the climate is tropical, and among a people who, more than most, need ventilation and fresh air. This tradition gains the greater support from the fact that window glass is dear. A surprising lack of enterprise on the part of the mission authorities and state departments is apparent in the matter of buildings. It would have been an easy matter for either of these bodies to draw up and distribute among the Natives plans of suitable buildings which could be used for church services on Sundays and for school on week-days. A similar lack of planning and forethought was noticeable in the larger institutions, which appear to have been built as if the number of students could be definitely fixed for once and all. One wonders why it could not have been possible to arrange for a plan which could have been added to as needs increased. The waste involved in faulty planning and unnecessary ornamentation must have been considerable. Exceptions to the general run of poorness of buildings were manifested by the day schools of the American Zulu Mission in Natal where the society receives half of the rents of the dwellers on the mission reserves, and the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which has secured the maximum amount of space and equipment at the minimum cost.

In connexion with the lay-out of schools, the entire absence of trees and, except in Natal, of gardens was very noticeable in the day schools. The little wood and iron or wattle and daub schoolhouse is planted down on the bare veld. Rarely is the land fenced and in no cases did we find any attempt to plant trees. The expense of fencing material, the depredations of goats, but, above all, the literary nature of the curriculum have prevented the school teachers and committees from attending to afforestation and gardening, two undertakings upon which the future of the South African Native must depend. The contrast in Natal, where agriculture and gardening are compulsory subjects, was most marked, but here, too, the authorities were struggling against the tradition of literary education.

Lavatory and sanitary conveniences were almost entirely lacking in the ordinary day schools, except in the towns. The children drink from the nearest stream and defæcate on the veld in old-time Native fashion, so that when they come to town it is not easy to induce them to make use of the conveniences of city life. The standard of school and personal cleanliness varies very considerably. The children in the schools almost without exception wear European clothes, and when during the war clothing was so expensive and the authorities were willing to allow the children to come to school in their primitive clothing of skins, the tradition of European clothing for school was so strong that no advantage was taken of the concession. The Commission took particular care to inspect the dormitories of boarding institutions, where it was found that provision, cleanliness and order were generally satisfactory in the case of girls but wanting in the case of boys. The use of beds was by no means universal. This was a failing in the eyes of the majority of the Commission, which regarded the use of raised sleeping-places as marking a definite stage in the development of the people.

The system of instruction is based on British tradition and is not easily susceptible of adaptation to the needs of

the Natives. In the Cape, the largest and most thickly populated province, where it has always been part of the political creed to minimize the differences between White and Black, the Natives and Europeans have the same syllabus, although the needs of the people must be very different. Natives of the Cape, brought up on these traditions and painfully aware that any discrimination in race treatment has generally been against the Blacks, have resisted the feeble attempts which have been made by educational commissions and a few institutions to provide them with a special system of education. In the other provinces, where the feeling towards the Natives has not been so liberal, a separate code has been drawn up. In some cases this has been a watered-down adaptation of the European code, but in others it has been a definite attempt to make the education suit the people.

Illustrations of the general lack of adaptation of education can best be furnished by grouping together racial needs in South Africa and the existing education treatment.

(1) The greatest of all South African problems is the matter of race-adjustment, the so-called Native Question, yet—

Sociology as a university study is not more than a few years old, and is only taken by a few white students and by no Native students.

(2) The ravages of disease among Natives are terrible, the infant mortality in certain areas reaching the appalling figure of 450 per 1000, yet—

The study of hygiene and instruction in the rearing of infants are undertaken as a school subject in not more than 15 per cent of the schools.

(3) Probably 90 per cent of the pupils who leave the Native schools will have to earn their living with their hands, yet—

In less than 10 per cent of the schools are trades and manual training adequately taught.

(4) The majority of the male pupils will work on the

land either for themselves or for a European employer, yet—

There is only one properly equipped agricultural school in the Union, only in one province are gardening and agriculture compulsory subjects and the education of the bulk of the pupils is fitting them for clerical employment only.

It should be recorded that the provincial authorities are aware of this lack in the syllabus of the Native schools, and that practically all the courses of study are in course of reconstruction.

Perhaps the finest example of educational adaptation seen by the Commission was the Farm and Agricultural School conducted by the Rhodesian Government at Chindamora, a few miles out of Salisbury. Chindamora Native Reserve is about 120,000 acres in extent, and in water, timber and soil conditions is probably typical of Native Reserve land in Rhodesia. Of this land a portion of some 600 acres was chosen for the government school, and to this the Director of Native Development, Mr. H. S. Keigwin, brought three teachers and about forty pupils. Using nothing but the tools possessed by almost every Native, the teachers and pupils cleared the bush, felled the timber, built the *pisé-de-terre* classrooms and began to till the soil. The course of study is of ten hours' duration per diem, seven of which are given to practical and manual instruction, and three to literary work. The practical work seemed to be excellent but the literary work was on somewhat barren lines. The school was fortunate in having a situation from real life for its curriculum and one wonders how the work will prosper when the real Robinson Crusoe conditions have been overcome. The Commission felt that an extension of part at least of this practical work to the rest of the schools in Rhodesia would be of advantage.

No survey of Native education in South Africa would be complete without reference to the South African Native

College, at Fort Hare, near Lovedale. Many years ago the great Stewart of Lovedale had looked forward to the time when it would be possible for the studious and ambitious Native to receive a university education in this country instead of being compelled to go overseas, where neither the education received in school nor the political and social views prevailing would suit him on his return to South Africa. The famous Native Affairs Commission of 1903–1905 blessed the proposal and after a long struggle to obtain the necessary support and funds the College was opened in February 1916, by the late General Botha, Prime Minister of the Union, with an enrolment of twenty students. The College has been very fortunate in the personnel of its governing council, its principal and its staff, so that it has prospered, and has to-day its complement of more than seventy students drawn from all parts of the Union. The Commission was very appreciative of the efforts which were being made to meet the legitimate educational aspirations of the Natives and stated that this institution compared favourably with similar institutions in America. They felt that the authorities were wise in maintaining a high standard of work in the College, for the low educational standard of the so-called Negro universities was a source of weakness to Negro education in America. At the same time it seemed to the Commission that the instruction was unduly and unnecessarily academic. Not only was the value of the Latin very doubtful in the case of Natives, but it seemed that the teaching of psychology, mathematics and science could have had a much more direct bearing on the needs of the students. The omission of such studies as sociology, politics, economics and education seemed to be serious in view of the urgent need for Native leaders of education and ability. It is understood that steps have already been taken to supply these needs. The College will, however, never be able to exert its maximum influence for good among the Natives until it obtains its university

charter, and can free itself from the trammels of a university designed to meet the needs of European students. The feeling in favour of a separate university for Natives is so strong that there is little doubt that a charter would be given as soon as a sufficient number of students had been obtained.

The Commission did not restrict itself to a mere examination of the educational conditions in South Africa, but studied the social and political environment to ascertain how far these reacted on the educational situation. It seemed to them to be of the utmost importance that there should be a reasonable outlet for the educated Native to earn an honest living, to dwell under decent conditions and to have some voice in the management of his affairs.

With regard to the first of these points it seemed to the Commission that the natural and safest employment for the Natives was on the land, and that until sufficient land had been made available for Natives it would be difficult to make them enthusiastic for the teaching of agriculture in school. They felt, too, that communal occupation of land would soon have to give way to a system of individual tenure such as obtains in the Transkei. With regard to industrial employment it seemed that a clash between the White and the Coloured industrialist could be best avoided by training the Natives more as the men of all work needed by their fellows than as the skilled craftsmen required by the European. The members of the Commission were struck, as all visitors to South Africa were struck, by the uneconomical use which is made of Coloured labour. Native wages were found to be very low when compared with the wages paid for similar labour in the United States, but in the absence of accurate information it was difficult to estimate the relation between wages and living conditions. There seemed to be a lack of any machinery for the regulation of wages as between employers and their Native workmen, and this appeared to be one of the duties which the rapidly increasing Native Welfare Association

could take up. It would probably be necessary for the Trades Union movement to spread to the Natives.

The housing conditions of Natives in urban areas were very bad, and compared unfavourably with housing in America. In only two of the larger cities, Durban and Bloemfontein, had any adequate attempt been made to deal with the question. In others the Natives have been placed in locations or have been allowed to squat upon the town lands where they have built themselves shacks of wattle and daub, stones and paraffin tins, which are not only eyesores but are positive dangers to the morality and health of the Europeans and Natives alike. Contagious diseases are more or less always prevalent in these locations, and in the one location where there has been a serious attempt to keep vital statistics, more than half the births registered in 1918 were illegitimate. Unhappily in most cases the Natives in the municipal locations are exploited for the purpose of the municipal revenue. Thus of the 217 towns reporting to the Secretary for Native Affairs for the year 1916–1917 no fewer than 191 derived more from Native revenue than they expended on Native services. Sixty-four towns which received revenue from Natives varying from £2 to £806 frankly returned 'Nil' as the amount of their expenditure on Native services. It appeared that Government had contemplated legislation on this subject as far back as 1912, but that this had been delayed until this year by reason of the war.

With regard to political development the situation is extremely interesting. In the Cape Province there is no colour bar as regards the franchise and any male Native who can fill up the registration form and owns property to the value of £75, or is in receipt of wages of £50 and over, is entitled to the vote for the union and provincial parliament, though he can only sit as a member in the provincial parliament. In the other provinces the Native has neither a vote nor the right to a seat. In three Native territories, however, Glen Grey, the Transkei and Western Pondoland,

there are systems of local self-government by which the Natives tax themselves, expend the money, amounting to well over one hundred thousand pounds in the case of the Transkei, on education, public works and health, and offer advice to the Union Government on matters affecting Native legislation. The usual plan is to have a district council in each magisterial area which elects to adopt the system. Each council consists of the magistrate and six members, and from these council members are elected or nominated to the annual Bhunga or parliament, which consists at present of the Chief Magistrate as chairman, eighteen European magistrates, and fifty-four native councillors. The Commission in its tour through the Transkei where the system is seen at its best, felt that it suited admirably the present political needs of the Natives, and provided that the constitution and procedure of the Bhunga kept pace with the Natives' development it would be an excellent means of educating the people in self-government.

By way of summary, it is anticipated that the recommendations of the Commission as far as South Africa is concerned will include the following points :

1. The assumption by the Union Government of the control and administration of Native education.

2. The establishment of a system of government Native schools, each school to be under the local management of a School Committee on which the missionaries and parents are represented.

3. The preparation of plans of suitable school buildings and their distribution among missionaries and Natives.

4. The development of afforestation and agriculture in the Native schools and so throughout the Native territories.

5. The enrichment of the curriculum by subjects of special value to Natives such as Hygiene, Nature Study, Native Crafts and other forms of Manual Training.

6. The gradual elimination from the curriculum of the

South African Native College of subjects of academic value only and the substitution of such studies as politics, economics, sociology, in preparation for Native leadership, and technical studies such as education, medicine and dentistry.

7. The development of a system of industrial education for Rhodesia on the lines of the work done at Chindamora and the closer linking up of the mission and government schools in that country.

8. The acceptance of a general Native policy in South Africa with which the work of the schools may be connected, such policy to make provision for the political, economic (agricultural and urban) and social needs of the Native people.

C. T. Loram

SAMUEL ARMSTRONG'S CONTRIBUTION TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

By CHARLES HENRY DICKINSON, D.D.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, in Virginia, was a great educator because he was a great missionary. Fundamental to the understanding of his educational method is that estimate of his epoch-making school which is expressed by Francis Peabody's *Education for Life*,[1] the authoritative history of Armstrong's work and influence: 'Hampton Institute is essentially a spiritual enterprise, conceived as a form of missionary service.' This statement is demonstrated by Dr Peabody to be equally true of the varied extensions of Hampton's ministry. Armstrong's educational aim, which comprises the discipline of a race in every element of its work and life, was solely and inclusively their Christian regeneration.

The Hampton type of education, of which accounts have already appeared in the Review,[2] with its effects, agricultural, industrial, sanitary, moral, religious, has become directive of the principal movements in the South undertaken in behalf of the Negro population and by them. The unsurpassed if not unparalleled results in practical efficiency, acquirement of property, and on character, have caused the extension of Armstrong's educational system to Negro populations of other lands, including their original home. It is affecting missionary enterprise universally. It has won an important place in the education of developed peoples. There is danger that, in so rapid

[1] *Education for Life. The Story of the Hampton Institute.* By Francis Peabody. New York: Doubleday. $2.50. 1918.

[2] 1912 (Oct.), pp. 704–13; 1915 (July), pp. 420–30.

a success, those who adopt Armstrong's educational methods and the uplifting agencies which proceed from them may miss his spiritual purpose.

In 1887 Armstrong wrote : ' There must be a difference in the educational methods for the races that are a thousand years behind the Whites in the line of development.' This perception was clear to him at the beginning of his educational work, and is the starting-point of his divergence from other educators of the Negro people. At the close of the civil war educational work for the newly enfranchized of the South was undertaken by the Churches of the North, whose workers commissioned to the South were, like Armstrong, inspired by a missionary purpose. The educational missionary method, with moral and religious instruction prominent, was the evident necessity among a population which had been condemned to illiteracy and whose Christianity was correspondingly more emotional than intelligent and ethical. These missionary teachers, of whom the majority were from the North-Eastern States, brought with them their New England type of education. This type emphasized the training and liberalizing of the intellectual faculties, with rigid ethical and religious standards added somewhat externally, while the student was left to find for himself later the application of his acquirements to the work which he must do in the world. The unrelatedness of that type to this southern field was evident from the first, in the face of a White South which cherished no illusions concerning the Negro and little hope for him, and which, preoccupied with the task of saving Caucasian civilization from his dreaded encroachments, externalized him from its own life and opportunities. Yet the beneficent results of this devoted service, which no incongruous educational method could annul, have been inestimable. It awakened multitudes to better thought and purer and larger life. It developed some among the strong leaders. It has established the higher liberal and professional education which is becoming united, especially

during the last two years, with Armstrong's method. On the other hand it was interpreted by many pupils as an escape, not from the evils of work, but from work itself, and many more found, to their bitter disappointment, that their training did not make for success in their arduous conditions. These missionaries, able and consecrated, laboured hard to adapt their method to urgent needs. But no adaptation, not even with the unfused addition of instruction in farming, handicrafts, household and sanitary efficiencies, was radical enough to meet the continuous emergency. Another type was needed, both for the masses and for those endowed with capacity to lead them. And nothing in missionary history is more clearly providential than that the author of the Hampton system was no less deeply spiritual, no less evangelically minded, than his fellow pioneers.

A brief sketch of the conditions he encountered may help to the understanding of his method in its gradual reconstruction of education, public and private, in its extensions to agricultural and industrial life, and in its improvement of conditions. Such a description is no less necessary to the evaluation of his missionary aim.

Armstrong was confronted with a great Negro labouring population, unskilled and untrained, but essential almost to the very existence of the South. Its chief occupation was agriculture which (prior to temporarily unsettling conditions connected with the world war) included 80 per cent of the coloured population of the South. To-day other unskilled labour is in many sections largely done by Negroes. There are not enough skilled white workmen, so that the trained Negro artizan has his best opportunity in the Southern States, notwithstanding the many obstacles which confront him there. This dependence upon Negro labour may be expected to be permanent.

A common Southern judgment is, 'The Negro is a good worker but a poor manager,'—a poor manager of his work. When untrained he works slowly as a rule but in

his working days he works long hours, from 'Can see to can't see.' In intermittent labour, like that of the river steamer roustabout, he displays startling speed. He has usually a singular mental detachment from what his hands are doing. His brain may be half asleep, or absent in pleasant imaginings, while his voice, often beautiful, discourses his wonderful spiritual songs. The intensification of physical force by music may be scientifically applied to his labour with good results. If he is working in company, his toil is relieved, and sometimes interrupted, by theological debate, pungent raillery, and tempests of titanic laughter. Work is dismissed from his thoughts at its close and during its intervals. The mental detachments cause blundering indirections, in the same old ruts, but save nerve waste. When intelligent interest and purpose are aroused, this temperament, combined with his exceptional muscular endurance, tends to notable efficiency. These peculiarities, physical and mental, Armstrong turned to account in the Hampton student's apparently arduous training, with its long hours : though now the psychological results of a finer early environment may compel modifications. The Negro's qualities must be considered when the Hampton way is applied to other races of different temperament, especially if they have inferior physical stamina, or the system may suffer a physical collapse. Such a temperament and habit in the absence of Armstrong's system seemed to the white landlord and industrial employer to be incapable of radical improvement. The Negro public school system, which, in its separation from the white, brought an additional burden upon a South recovering from the impoverishment caused by the civil war, was deplorably insufficient till it advanced on the long road which Armstrong projected. The imported New England system was economically inapplicable. The great missionary educator's sense of realities and possibilities showed him the threefold remedy : training of mind and hand together, incentive, and the moral and spiritual

uplifting which converts the careless drudge into one who achieves in his work the life worthy of a man.

Any extended review of the economic and social conditions which beset Negro labour would lead into the wide and often trackless fields of the bewildering contrarieties of the South. In agriculture, which sets the standard for other conditions, the fact is fundamental that the Negro was debtor, the white man creditor, and 'the borrower is servant to the lender.' Most of the land was the white man's, and he who owns the land has an ownership of the men who dwell on it. The creditor landlord made advances of food, clothes, and shelter, and furnished stock and tools. The future crop was his security. The modifications of this crop lien system, and its virtual abandonment in many places, with the Negro's purchase of land in excess at the present time of 21,000,000 acres, are heartening prophecies. Yet this acreage equals only about the area of a Southern State of less than the average size, and over wide expanses the repressive conditions of land tenancy remain, all the way from what is almost a partnership, with opportunity of purchase, down through an indulgent, patronizing, and unhopeful kindliness, through varying degrees of justice and sympathy, to systematic robbery, and even to peonage. Appreciations, extenuations, and condemnations jostle together in the heart of one who loves the South. But Armstrong, its wisest lover, was not occupied with these considerations. The way of redemption was what he cared for.

His greatness in envisaging these economic conditions is evident in a double contrast between him and those who have won a less practical discernment or a less prophetic vision. Unlike the former, he correctly estimated conditions and applied to them an educational plan which embraces more than his own pupils, more than their pupils, for it is also the reconstruction of life through a multitude of derived agencies. If he had stopped with the first of his two great qualities, his 'education for life' might have

resembled an apprentice system, by him definitively repudiated. Nor is there any approach to that most deplorable and perilous mechanizing tendency of modern industry which he expressly denounced because it makes the hand proficient in a reiterated exercise, to the atrophy of mind and heart and soul. Most remote from him is the design to train 'Children of Gibeon, hewers of wood and drawers of water,' for the white heirs of the promise. In his conception a man's work is his life. Not only did he regard a man's work as his test but also his realization. Faith was to him man's purpose in God's purpose, and just that the man's work must be. Because of the vital, human, spiritual aim, the training is thorough, its pupil proficient, and the efficiency in present conditions, which is interfused with this purpose, ensures progress through improved conditions transcended without end.

The discipline which rectifies material conditions works through them moral regeneration, without which, in Armstrong's severely ethical consciousness, no material gain has value or permanence. No other man has seen the moral defects of the Negro more clearly, for he estimated them not as inherently racial, but as caused by historic conditions. Those for whom he toiled were not far from Africa, whither they were in continual danger of reverting. Slavery had furnished little basis for the essential virtues of truthfulness and honesty, or for the Christian family. The sudden removal of the restraints of slavery issued in licence, the disorganizations of which must be most evident in the generation whose childhood was infected by it. After reconstruction days came the enforcement of a life and toil without hope. Such inheritances he set himself to overcome.

A moral excellence recognized by all who are acquainted with the Negro people of the South is their docility. But that word has both higher and lower meanings. It may denote blind obedience to commands, submissiveness to authority, patient and cheerful endurance of oppression,

capacity of personal loyalty, respectful and ingratiating manners, irresistible likeableness. All these qualities this docile race possesses. But Armstrong gave to the word a nobler meaning, that of teachable responsiveness. Their emotional responsiveness has indeed disappointed and exasperated many a Northern teacher. The white Southerner has had too much experience of it to be deceived. But Armstrong, no less astute, detected the ethical responsiveness, futile indeed without that strict, patient, indefatigable discipline by which he had developed his coloured troops in his brilliant military service in the civil war. This ethical, disciplined responsiveness is not imitative, when it rises above its earlier stages. The Negro receives that he may appropriate. The ethical type which he responsively develops has differences from ours, in quality, emphasis and motive. This difference does not necessarily make it inferior to that of the white race. It is more religious, more appreciative of certain moral ideals of Jesus which it is difficult for the Caucasian to understand. It is hard for a rich man, rich in history, rich in opportunity, to enter the kingdom of God. The last shall be first, and the first last.

His discipline was adapted no less to the Negro's intellectual qualities and esthetic endowment. Lack of space precludes the attempt to describe what these qualities are actually and potentially, and how Armstrong's training, practical and ideal, considerate and severe, impartive and generative, is necessary to amend and develop that which they are into that which they may become. All these capacities of character and mind and heart he was able to appreciate because he surrounded himself with their best representatives. No man can understand the Negro people who refuses to cultivate deep co-operative friendships with those who have nobly demonstrated what the race is essentially.

One of the most important elements of Armstrong's method and aim was his discipline of leisure hours, with

the direction of the play impulse. Here is the capital city of the province of the beautiful: here is the opportunity for the development of the Negro's rare artistic endowment, which is pervasive of the race. To discipline this impulse away from its crude barbarisms, to change the hours of sordid idleness and emptiness into the restful employment of social and esthetic powers, was a significant part of his service. He chose for the centre of his influence one of the most exquisite sea-fronts of the Atlantic. He made Hampton beautiful. He filled its leisure times and especially its Sabbaths with things that are lovely, and led the esthetic potencies of his pupils from their beginnings, into fields of natural and human and celestial beauty where his own soul was at home.

Political matters and the vexed problem of relations between the two races, Armstrong regarded as, for his time at least, outside his mission of that regeneration of Negro life which is the mightiest force in their solution. Because he refrained from discussing these questions he was not tempted to exaggerations or concessions of principles, which his disciples would have to retract and apologize for. All he did was directed to the securing of equal rights and opportunities, and to the maintenance, by racial self-respect, of racial integrity, whose strongest reason is that this race may develop its own distinctive contribution to humanity.

The spiritual concentration and consummation of his toils can be understood only as one sees it inspired by his own spiritual life. 'The results of education,' he said, 'are eternal.' In the personal legacy which he wrote, for the sake of the continuance of his work, three years and a half before his death in 1894, to be read by his associates after his death, he stated as his entire creed: 'Simply to Thy Cross I cling.' 'Prayer,' he wrote in the same bequest, 'is the greatest thing in the world. It keeps us near to God.' His constant and urgent demand upon his students was that they must be Christians, and that his school's

chief endeavour is to send out every student consecrated to Christ. In this man there was no division of aim. He was not one who worked sometimes for the spiritual and at other times for the secular. All that he did was unified in the highest purpose.

When one traces the influence of this spirituality, the judgment becomes substantiated that Armstrong, above all other missionaries in his field, has ministered to the Negro's religious life. Yet that ministry is notable for its self-limitations and reserves. The other type of educational missions trained a considerable number of pastors and founded not a few churches. A temporary and insignificant attempt at ministerial training was the one perfunctory experiment at Hampton in Armstrong's day. He established only one church, the undenominational church at Hampton Institute for both teachers and students. Members of other churches who joined it retained their previous church membership. Those who united with it on confession expected to transfer their church membership to their future places of residence, in whatever denomination they might prefer. Attempts for the Negro churches more direct than this were not made, save in exceptional cases. Into the churches joined by graduates and former students went the spirit of this Hampton church. The bearers of it seldom assumed pastoral oversight. Their inevitable religious leadership was inseparable from their social service along the lines of their teaching or other callings. To many others they impart their religious consciousness, and so the leaven works on. Armstrong's immediate method was not so much to regenerate Negro life through their churches, as to renew the churches through regenerated life.

Armstrong's purpose was the regenerated life of the Negro people. It is accomplished through the disciplined reconstruction and co-ordination of every element of life. Its method comprises adaptations to existing conditions, in such wise that conditions and adaptations to them shall

be progressively improved. It fits for the work at hand, and for the work which must be approached through the present task. It is a work comprehended in its relations, so that its performance leads into a place in the universal life of men. But those students of Armstrong's mission who stop in this adaptation have not grasped his purpose, and are not his disciples. His 'education for life' is not for life as static but as dynamic, not merely for life as it is, but for life as it is to become. It is Christian not so much as pervading the present stage of attainment, but rather as germinant of new Christian growths. It is creative of life, and is adaptive only that it may be creative. Life, in his thought of it, is a continuous spiritual creation. His education is indeed through work, and for work, intelligently and earnestly performed, and to which the formative leisure hours contribute. But work had to him its highest spiritual meaning: the development of all the powers consummated in the spiritual, and their outpouring in that service which is the progressive realization of the kingdom of God, His creative aim is indeed social, the creation of a new human organism of work and life. But it is social in the true personal sense of that word, according to which each soul forms itself from the best of other souls, in their influences both individual and combined, and fulfils itself by the devotion of itself to others and to humanity. Each soul fulfils itself from the Spirit of God in the human, for the impartation of that Spirit to the universal brotherhood. The soul was to him, as to a great thinker of the present time, a man with a spiritual purpose. At least, until that spiritual purpose dawns one knows not what it is to be a soul. And that spiritual purpose is for each man his life task, apprehended as the personal contribution to the kingdom of God, and fulfilled in the faithful, effective work, which, in its unity with all good work, a man has to do in that post of the far-flung ranks which the divine Spirit of the Kingdom enables him to find. To infuse into all men this practical ideal, personal-social aim, into a new

creation of humanity,—is not this the missionary purpose of Him whom God sent to save the world ? And are there not evident in the method of this missionary to the Negro race, whose name must be written side by side with Livingstone, essential elements, to be modified indeed by varied conditions, in accordance with the vital genius of his method, but which pertain universally to our strivings to open the soul of man to the light and life of God ?

In this brief summary I have selected those things which seemed to me to be of helpful suggestion to other missions. Detailed applications to other lands I would not, of course, presume to attempt. The peculiar character of Armstrong's field may make his achievements all the more illuminative. General principles and elastic methods often become clearest in the comparison, which I have left to my readers, of very unlike fields of their application. I have also been mindful of the request with which the Editor of *The International Review of Missions* has greatly honoured me, that I should consider the bearing of the work of Armstrong and his disciples upon fundamental conceptions —upon the philosophy of missions, which is an essential aspect of the philosophy of religion. This I have tried to do by implication or rather to help my readers to do for themselves. It may be timely to indicate the significance of his work in the present controversy between two missionary aims, which are often blended together confusedly, but are essentially distinct from one another. One is the extension of Christian civilization. The other is the saving of souls, which includes the Catholic aim of the world-wide establishing of the Church. Armstrong's aim is, I submit, the fulfilment of the latter of these two purposes.

Only these two can compete as aims of missionary service. For any other would be less than the purpose to impart an inclusive essential of our own life. They cannot be co-ordinately blended together, for no unity is possible for them in which one must not use the other as subordinate

instrument. The reflection that this competitive confusion, evident in all mission fields, connotes a fundamental historic problem of our time and of every period of the Christian era, emphasizes its significance in mission fields, where its immediate answer is critically urgent. We may hope that again, as in St Paul's day, Christianity may win from its missionary devotions the solution of a perilous problem of its own inner life. Either aim is exposed not only to the assaults of the other, but is also beset with an inherent perplexity. For in the one it is doubtful whether the words soul and salvation have attained in our apprehension their full evangelical meaning. And in the other it is questionable whether our civilization is really Christian.

Criticisms of the missionary undertaking which are based upon the first of these aims have been radical, and often virulent. I am aware that these criticisms are intensified by an adherence to the ancient phrase, 'the salvation of souls.' But I cannot find any other formula which is not a weakening and a virtual betrayal of the missionary aim of Jesus and the New Testament. Welcome as are the severest criticisms upon the methods by which this aim is pursued, an attack upon the aim itself must be identified with principles outside the religion of Jesus. Christianity cannot consider any preference of the secular to the spiritual, or even of any spirituality which is not its very own. Christianity cannot fix its dependence upon any process which is not a new birth from above. It cannot confess any weaker condemnation of the world's sin than that which is pronounced by the Cross, any faith in humanity lower than its redemption by the Crucified, any service to humanity less than its conquest for our Lord. And in our civilization actual or potential, it finds no sufficient power for the salvation which it is compelled to seek.

Far more radical and practical is that criticism of missions which is contained in the evangelical aim itself. None knows as they may know who work in mission fields for the salvation of souls that the word salvation continu-

ally discloses length and breadth and depth and height that passeth knowledge, and that the word soul has inexhaustible significances. In their experiences the larger meanings are opening continually. And these deepening experiences not only correct mistakes which have become associated with their aim, though not of it, but are also fruitful of wiser methods, more effective agencies, all these implicit in the Christian evangel ever more deeply comprehended, in the divine Will ever more clearly discerned.

The missionary purpose of imparting a Christian civilization is harassed by inevitable doubts, not only of its Christian quality, but also of its power to assure even material necessities, much less cultural needs, least of all a spiritual life. These doubts, made poignant by recent cataclysm and continuing disasters, 'cut the nerve of missions' in this sense. Primitive peoples may well wonder blindly whether the intrusions of a so-called Christian civilization have been service or exploitation, have made for progress or degeneracy. The cultures of the Orient are conscious of possessing great thoughts and ethical institutions fundamentally inconsistent with the acceptance of our civilization. Their experience of it has indeed commended to them certain elements and achievements to be transformed into their own civilizations. Is it not better, ask both their spiritual reflection and their statesmanship, to develop that which is their own, rather than to accept that which annuls their own past, and for which they must exchange their very soul, and whose achievements may seem superior to theirs because of more favourable circumstances which are necessarily temporary? If our service to them is reduced to certain external contributions, it is no longer a missionary aim. Our missionary appeal to the East must include this repudiation: 'Not of our civilization are we ambassadors.'

If it is urged that our western civilization, like our Christianity, is to be estimated not by its temporary forms but by its implicit ideal, which against all perversions of it,

is supposed to be historically realizable from more to more—this consideration is pertinent, that our western world is a dualism. It is divided between its Hellenic civilization and its Christian religion. Painful is the divisive stress between the inner life and the career of every man who attempts to be a Christian in the western world. We are inheritors of unreconciled realms. Between our civilization with its appropriative conquest of the world, and the Christian religion with its transcendent victory of the spirit against the world, there is no peace which leaves them severally independent powers. There can be no unifying of these twain except as Christianity opens to our cultural inheritance a new universe before whose glory our civilization falls in contrite confession of its own utter insufficiency and need, and in which, new-born, it may fulfil itself by denying and transcending itself. This evangel of Jesus, which He offers to every soul, confronts no less every civilization and all blendings of civilizations.[1]

To turn to the other missionary aim, the salvation of souls; every consideration of the Christian missionary purpose must begin with the absolutely personal Gospel of Jesus. This Gospel has not two parts, the one personal, the other social, the one directed to a man in his own being, the other addressed to combinations of men. From every solidaric repression of the individual man, repressions ecclesiastical, political, or otherwise institutional, Jesus is the Redeemer. His Gospel is the faithful realization of His own consciousness of personal fellowship with God, of the infinite preciousness of Himself to the loving Father, of the significance to God of His task and of the eternal perfecting and fulfilment of His own soul. In Jesus personality is so fulfilled that a new consciousness among men of immovable personal worth, of personal accountability, and of personal guilt in all but Him, the sinless, of eternal personal mission and destiny, is a fountain of water springing up in eternal

[1] The considerations intimated in this and following paragraphs are developed in the author's *Christian Reconstruction of Modern Life*.

life for every man who will receive himself from his Lord. An object of illimitable devotion to us is every man of every race and clime and time. Whatever social being is ours, it is found only in the depths of personality, which is His creation. Jesus' missionary aim is the salvation of souls.

So vast is the worth of each soul that every man is ' the brother for whom Christ died.' That death for every man was the outpouring, for each soul's redemption and complete salvation, of the highest and the holiest. That death in which is Jesus' life eternal, is the consummation and the perennial source of all human devotions, at utmost cost which must be given to every man's limitless need and possibilities. In Jesus' death is nothing less than the very heart of God in infinite self-sacrifice of eternal love to every man. The infinite love is not divisible. To every one of its children it is as infinite as if to a single child. And in that sacrifice to the least of His brethren is the fulfilment and perfecting of Jesus Himself, and God is God because He is the giver of Himself to every child of His. And every child of the Father and brother of Him who is the brother of us all attains and perfects himself in this complete devotion of himself to every man and to all men. Each finds his life by losing it as Jesus did, as God does. And this divine life which we receive from the spiritual universe and give to the spiritual universe is one life in the sacrificial Spirit of Jesus, in His personal-social creation, the kingdom of God. In the depths of personality is found that unity wherein we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The realization of this Spirit is each man's life-task helping other men to fulfil their life-tasks. It is accomplished in every day's work as each man finds and develops his work, learned and taught in its best effectiveness. It faces and accepts existing conditions that it may continuously transcend them. It fills all that men have to do and all that they may progressively attain in the serviceable doing of their daily tasks, with the moral and spiritual, thus continually forming the larger things in which char-

acter and faith may have freer exercise. Every phase of a civilization and the civilizations which may follow one another are but instruments for the soul to use, and through their effective use to exchange them for better instruments. All of humanity's sojourn on earth, which is to be thus transcended, is but an instrument of the personal soul in its receptiveness of all souls, in its self-impartation to all souls, through the one unifying Spirit of the kingdom of God. A man whose purpose is the regeneration of a people, a race, a world, in every detail of interrelated work and life, and who educates and moulds in the ways that at once accept and surmount their conditions, has found Christ's missionary aim, and works in Christ's creative way.

CHARLES HENRY DICKINSON

HINDU AND CHRISTIAN SADHUISM

By F. J. WESTERN

I PROPOSE in this paper to analyse the ideas which are expressed in the Hindu institution of sadhuism ; to examine its reactions on the Christian Church in India ; and to discuss such developments of it as are probable or desirable in the future of Indian Christianity.

I. SADHUISM AS AN INSTITUTION

To define in English the terms ' sadhu ' and ' sadhuism ' is very difficult, partly because they are used loosely to denote several different types of the ascetic life, and still more because subdivisions of the ascetic life have been developed in India which overlap those—such as monk, friar or solitary—to which we are accustomed in Europe. If an English word is demanded for ' sadhu,' it must be ' friar ' ; but to use this word would often be quite misleading, and I shall therefore simply retain the Indian term.

To describe sadhuism, again, is difficult if brevity and accuracy are at all satisfactorily to be combined. I will begin by leaving out of account a very large proportion of the sadhus ordinarily to be met with, who are nothing more than sturdy beggars without the slightest tincture of devotion or spirituality, but who find the ochre robe and the matted hair a passport to an easy life and in many cases to one of fraud or crime. Of the remainder, many have very vague and crude ideas of the doctrines which underlie sadhuism, and very low standards of spiritual life. Many, in particular, keep themselves in a state of stupefaction by the constant use of hemp on the plea or in the belief that it promotes abstraction from the things of sense.

It is therefore only a very small minority of sadhus to whom any description that is worth giving can apply.

Any brief description, again, can only represent one or two of the many types that actually occur. I shall confine myself entirely to the Hindu movement, since the Hindu sadhu is far more prominent in the life of India than the Muhammadan faqir, and the distinguishing practices and ideas of the latter have no special significance for the development of similar movements in the Christian Church. I must also note that my knowledge, whether direct or second-hand, is almost entirely confined to North India.

With these reservations, the typical sadhu may be described as one who has relinquished the life of the world in order to give himself fully to the progressive realization of his unity with the Divine. His life combines elements of those of the monk, the friar and the hermit. He generally begins as a *chela*, perhaps of an individual *sannyasi*, but more often in a *math* (monastery) of one of the great orders of sadhus. Here he lives for several years, largely employed in menial work but receiving a certain amount of teaching, and at length is formally recognized as a sadhu, and allowed to depart from the *math* after the special *mantram* (sacred password or ' symbol ') of the order has been imparted to him, together generally with some other special texts. He then spends his life wandering from place to place, often going round to one after another of the great *tiraths* or places of pilgrimage such as the sacred cave of Amarnath in Kashmir or the shrine of Jagannath at Puri. He will probably return to his *math* from time to time, and also often reside for a few weeks or months in some village where he is specially welcomed, or with some well-to-do man who likes to receive sadhus and receive teaching from them. So the years pass, and he finally spends his old age in peaceful meditation in some monastery, or in an *ashram*,[1] or, in rarer cases, follows the old-time tradition of retiring to the forest.

[1] A small group of dwellings, often centering round the abode of some specially famous *mahatma* or *paramahansa*, i.e., one recognized as a saint or adept.

It is uncommon for sadhus definitely to preach or teach, but they are expected to be ready to receive visitors when they are stopping anywhere and to answer their questions on the way of enlightenment and release. The sadhus of certain orders in Benares give from time to time public expositions of their doctrines, and those of the reforming sect of the Arya Samaj undertake regular propaganda work.

A special type of sadhu is the *yogi*, who engages in more or less severe ascetic practices, either on the lower levels of thought and belief in the hope of gaining quasi-magical powers, or in order to negate and annihilate the activity of the senses as a means of freeing the spirit from illusion. Self-torture is not so common among genuine *yogis* as is often imagined, their method being rather to limit the needs of the body and restrain its disturbing influence than actively to maltreat it. Their chief attention, therefore, is given to practising certain postures of sitting and methods of breathing which are believed to favour spiritual concentration.

II. The Basal Conceptions of Hindu Sadhuism

The deeper characteristics and the basal conceptions of Hindu sadhuism may now be considered. They can be grouped under four headings.

The importance of spirit. Sadhuism is first and foremost an expression of the central belief of Hinduism that the life of the spirit is beyond all comparison more important, higher and more real than the life of the flesh. I cannot attempt here to enter into the fascinating but exceedingly difficult question of the precise meaning with which it can be said that Hindus have a special aptitude for spiritual things. It is sufficient to remark that from the ages of the Upanishads (say the 8th century B.C.) to the present day Hindu India has continued to live in an Age of Faith. The European of the Middle Ages might be worldly

or wicked and live in forgetfulness or even in scorn of God and of the Last Judgment; but a stirring sermon, or some striking act of asceticism, or the shock of misfortune, might any day revive beliefs which he had never really abandoned, which it was in fact impossible for him to abandon. So to the Hindu the belief in the law of rebirth and *karma* and in the eternity and absolute value of the spirit of man—the *atma*, that indefinable something which makes him a real being and links him with the divine—is necessary and unescapable. He may forget it, but whoever he is, peasant, petty trader or rich banker, and whatever his moral and religious life may be, it may any day revive and master him. Even more impressively than the monks and friars of the Middle Ages in Europe, the sadhus of India express and by expressing strengthen the belief in the predominance of the other-worldly over the worldly, of the spirit over the flesh.

The fetter of the world. The specifically Hindu belief of the antagonism of the material to the spiritual makes sadhuism a far more essential and all-pervading element of Hinduism than monasticism could ever be of Christianity. The world and the things that are in the world, with absolutely no reserve, are in Hindu religious philosophy essentially and irreconcilably alien to the spirit. Matter in all its forms, whether in nature or civilization, whether within man or outside of him, can only be a hindrance and a fetter. The category of matter, moreover, is far wider than in our thought. It includes the whole of man's ordinary mental life, his feelings, thoughts and acts of will, all that he is or appears to be, except the innermost point of the *ego*, the central spark of spirit.

This matter in which spirit finds itself imprisoned is, indeed, ordained in the ultimate nature of the universe, but so far as it is real and not merely a gigantic illusion it is nothing better than an inexplicable and unfortunate necessity. The spirit must develop itself under the conditions of material existence, but cannot use it as a help, or hope that

a right use of life in this world may lead to a greater completeness of spiritual life. *Mukti*, Release, is the goal.

We need not here distinguish between the beliefs of the different schools as to the reality of the material system of things. In North India, at any rate, the dominant thought is that it is illusion, which the wise man pierces through to find that everything that has existence is but One, unchanged and unchangeable. But even so, the illusion has reality for practical purposes, and until full enlightenment is attained, matter cannot simply be ignored but must be fought against; its tendency to ensnare the spirit ever deeper in the delusion of its reality and value must steadily be resisted.

Hence it is that to nearly all Hindu thought the life of the sadhu is necessarily and absolutely higher than any form of life 'in the world.' The life of a householder is a legitimate stage of a man's life, just as is the preceding stage of studentship; but they are both no more than preliminary stages, and the householder as such cannot obtain Release. It is instructive here to notice that this doctrine is challenged by the Bhagavad Gita, which teaches very clearly that the normal man is meant to attain Release by doing his duty in his allotted sphere selflessly and with devotion to God. But in spite of its great influence, the Gita has quite failed in this matter to modify appreciably the general belief of Hinduism.

The three Ways. Release is the goal, and renunciation of the world is the primary way thereto, but in addition the sadhu must follow one or more of the great ways of Knowledge, Devotion or Asceticism—*Gyan*, *Bhakti* or *Yoga*. Knowledge is that of the illusion of the material world and the oneness of all that truly exists. Devotion implies a more or less theistic doctrine, and means faith in and devotion to God, who of His grace will deliver His worshipper from the impermanent realm of the material and unite him with Himself. On this side, the Bhagavad Gita is one of the leading scriptures of sadhuism, but is

interpreted by different schools with many different combinations of the monistic and the theistic elements that are both to be found in it. To some the doctrine is one of a fully personal deity, with whom a personal union may be attained. To others, God is sublimated into the notion of perfect Reality, Thought and Bliss as the depersonalized life of a spiritual point. Asceticism is generally combined with one or both of the other Ways, but need not mean more than a severe simplicity and restraint in manner of life.

Among most sadhus, at any rate in North India, where the doctrine of illusion dominates, but at the same time there has been a series of influential theistic reformers, the two Ways of Knowledge and Devotion are combined in varying proportions, and with a good deal of vagueness in the philosophical theology which should underlie them.

Individualism. A most important characteristic of Hindu sadhuism is that almost universally it is entirely individualistic and self-centred in its outlook. The sadhu does not work for others, or pray with others; he feels little if any responsibility for other men and women and his relations with them are simply incidental to the development of his own life.

That this should be so follows necessarily from the principles stated above. It is true that the complete system of Hinduism contains on the one side an elaborately organized system of life in the world. From before birth till after death the Hindu's life is full of sacramental observances; and *dharma*, religious duty, guides his social, moral and religious life as a unit in the family and in the caste. On this side the life of the individual is completely subordinated and merged in that of the body. But from the point of view of the final end of life and religion, all this is of the earth, earthy. It is necessary or at any rate inevitable, and probably lasts through thousands of births, but the real life-work of the soul must from the very nature of the case lie absolutely apart from it. Since the goal is

freedom from all the entanglements or all the illusion of the material, all contact with the world and with persons can only hinder.

A *guru* indeed is necessary to a sadhu at the beginning of his career, and similarly the organization of a *math* has its external uses. But the work of a sadhu is in himself and for himself; the help that he can receive can be only that of instruction which he will assimilate as an individual for the enlightenment of his own mind. Membership of an order is a temporal convenience, but to share any form of real corporate life would be inconsistent with his fundamental aim. Prayer for others would imply the reality of their gross personalities (i.e., their souls, as understood in the West, as distinguished from the *atma*, the central point of spiritual being), as well as what only the more purely *bhakti* sects would admit, the existence of a personal God who can hear prayer. Similarly, what work for others can a sadhu do? Corporal works of mercy would hinder both his own and the recipient's development. He may, and should when desired, teach others as he himself was taught. For the rest, his relations with them must be only such as are necessitated by life on this earth, and such as have no prejudicial effect on his own inner life.

It is important to note that this individualism is much less strong in the sadhuism of the theistic reforming sects, and in particular does not hold at all of the most modern and widespread of them, the Arya Samaj. With a doctrine of fairly definite personal theism, and with much of its outlook influenced by western thought, the Arya Samaj has developed orders of sadhus who, for instance, make it a point to help in relief work at times of famine or plague.

III. Why Hindu Sadhuism has not influenced the Indian Church

It is a remarkable fact that though the modern Indian Church (not including for the moment the old Syrian

Churches) has a history of nearly a century and a half, and sadhuism is a striking manifestation of the most fundamental and widespread conceptions of Hinduism, the latter has had as yet practically no influence on Indian Christianity. To trace briefly the reasons for this is both interesting and of value for a right estimation of future probable developments. They are mainly the following three.

The complete separation of the Indian Church from Hindu life and thought. This well-known phenomenon is largely due to the nature of Hinduism as a system in which social life and religion form one indivisible whole, so that separation in religion implies almost complete separation in social life. The Christians in the Roman Empire felt a similar difficulty, but only at certain special points of trade or their relations to the state. Certain trades became barred to them, and they were regarded as traitors to the state, and in part were forced to be so. But the Hindu who becomes a Christian becomes thereby a traitor to his whole society and to his country. Expelled from his family and caste, if not actively persecuted by them, he must restart his life, surrounded by a new environment and learning new customs. Thenceforward he can only have such exterior contact with the Hindu circle of life as any foreigner can have. The Hinduism that remains with him is only in his memory and mental habits, and is not kept alive by the experiences and intercourse of each day. And is he likely to retain Hindu habits of thought when much that is fundamental in Hinduism cannot remain with him in Christianity, and what could remain finds no encouragement in his new environment ?

This state of things is gradually being modified on both sides. In the modern Hinduism of the upper classes, personal religion is beginning to be separable from the life of the society. At the same time, thinking Christians are beginning to desire that Indian Christianity should share in the national heritage of both secular and religious

thought. Neither of these processes, however, has yet gone far.

The case of the converts from the depressed classes is, of course, rather different. They were never, in the full sense of the word, Hindus. Combining certain elements of the Hindu tradition with their own stock of lower and grosser beliefs, they were influenced but hardly moulded by the great Hindu ideas; and their conversion to Christianity has not so much separated them from Hinduism as stopped their gradual approach to it. As semi-Hindus they only partially appreciated the basal conceptions of sadhuism as described above, and it appealed to them mainly as expressing the vaguely understood ideas of true religion requiring sacrifice and separation from worldly interests. As Christians their attitude to it is much the same, except for the influence of the factors of dependence and economic position about to be discussed.

The dependence of the Indian Church on the foreign missionaries. This feature of the life of the Indian Church is often confused with that just described, and is, in fact, closely connected with it. In the case of converts from the upper classes, dependence on the foreign missionary has been mainly a result, but partly also a cause, of their separation from Hindu life and thought; in the case of those from the depressed classes it has been neither, but rather simply a concomitant of their separateness. In both cases it has not only further decreased the possible influence of Hindu conceptions, but led the thought of the infant Church in directions opposed to them, and in particular opposed to those connected with sadhuism.

For this dependence has been most remarkably and harmfully complete. The upper-class convert in reaction from a system which he tends to regard as wholly evil, and in enthusiasm for a faith which has re-created his innermost personality; the depressed-class convert in gratitude for new and unhoped-for light and life; each in his own way receives the bearer of the Christian message

as an angel of God, and with the Christian faith accepts from him indiscriminately the whole subsidiary system of belief, custom and attitude which he has brought with him from England or America.

Unless therefore the missionaries themselves had inculcated principles and practices favourable to sadhuism, Indian Christians were unlikely in the past to develop it for themselves. But the Christianity which has been taught has been the English and American Protestantism of the nineteenth century, a strong and clear faith, but with a tendency to be matter-of-fact and to distrust all but a few special forms of personal or corporate emotion, and with little tradition of other-worldliness, mysticism or asceticism. It could give noble examples of heroism and sacrifice, but of the type of a Carey or a Martyn rather than a St Francis or a Keble. Such a Christianity could teach to the infant Church of India the weaknesses of sadhuism but not its elements of strength and nobility.

The teaching of the Roman Church has presumably been more favourable to appreciation of the ideas of sadhuism, but if so, it has been only in the precise forms and with the precise methods of organization which have been developed in the western Church. I believe I am correct in stating that the Roman religious orders which work in India (which include no purely contemplative orders) have in no respect altered their rules for application to the Indian Church. In general, the separateness from Hindu life and thought and the dependence on the foreign missionary which is characteristic of the non-Roman Christians has been made still more complete in the Roman Church by its centrally imposed uniformity in every detail of both doctrine and discipline.

The economic position of the Indian Church. The peculiarity of this consists not in the Indian Church being poor, which need not at all hinder the development of sadhuism, but in its being in a state of rapid economic change and uplift. To whatever extent material motives

have affected the converts from the lower classes in towns and in villages—a question into which we need not enter here—it remains that the new spirit of freedom and effort given to them by Christianity, combined with the new opportunities of their change in status and the ready help of the missionary in their use of those opportunities, has led to a marked process of economic development. The Indian Church has to-day very few wealthy men, but a considerable middle class of clerks, traders, schoolmasters and small landowners, whose fathers were far lower in the economic and social scale and whose sons carry on the upward progress. Under the mass movements of recent years this process is continually renewing itself from the bottom upwards, and its inevitable effect is that Indian Christianity has tended to be, and is at present, of a practical or even somewhat worldly and materialistic type.

IV. The Beginnings of Christian Sadhuism

Bearing in mind these considerations, it is not surprising to find that at present there are very few actual Christian sadhus. After supplementing my own knowledge of North India by asking the two men who were most likely to be acquainted with Christian sadhus, I found that I knew, or could hear of, only five, good, bad or indifferent. To these should be added the members (about twelve) of the Brotherhood of St Andrew in Bengal. This is a brotherhood of Franciscan type, in connexion with, but in no way dependent on, the Oxford Mission, and purely Indian. It differs from a typically Hindu sadhu order in confining itself to a special mission district, in which it does evangelistic work, members moving from place to place according to the needs of the work. I understand that in South India there is about the same number of actual Christian sadhus as in the North. There is also a fairly considerable number of men in South India (and a few in the North) who live for shorter or longer periods as voluntary preachers,

wandering round from one congregation of Christians to another, and receiving hospitality and the means to move on to the next place. Bands of Christian singers also make similar tours.

It is clear from these facts that sadhuism is only at its very beginning as an institution in the Indian Church. It has been up to the present, and is, purely sporadic; and there are no clear signs of any large development in the immediate future.

In these beginnings of a Christian sadhuism, however, one name cannot escape mention—I mean, of course, that of Sundar Singh. It would be wholly impertinent for me to try to appraise his character; of his message to the Church in India and elsewhere, Canon Streeter and Mr Appasamy have now given us a most valuable exposition and study. It does not seem that it is his work to be the leader of a movement, but it is very clear that his life and example will be of the greatest value to the Indian Church of the future, as it is already to the Church of to-day.

V. The Future of Sadhuism in the Indian Church

I have pointed out that owing to the separation of the Indian Church from Hindu life and thought, its dependence on foreign missionaries and its peculiar economic position, the Indian Church has up to the present been very little influenced by Hindu sadhuism. I have also shown that, as a matter of present fact, a Christian sadhuism has barely begun to show itself. What are the probabilities of its growth in the future; if and when it comes, what will be its chief characteristics; and what difficulties or dangers will it bring with it?

Some light is thrown on these questions by observing the attitude of the Indian Church of to-day towards individual Christian sadhus. Three things are very clearly marked:

(*a*) An immense admiration and reverence for those

men who have visibly forsaken all and followed Christ. The Indian Church may have much of the mind of Martha, but it can certainly sympathize with and admire the mind of Mary. I believe that in this we can trace some inheritance from Hinduism of the conviction of the superiority of the spirit over the flesh, which in this point would reinforce the simple and direct faith in Christ which is the great gift of the Indian Church.

(*b*) A strong feeling that the sadhu has chosen the highest life and is the truest disciple of Christ. It is very difficult to know to what extent this has been influenced by the Hindu conception that the great need is Release from the fetter of the world, though I am myself sure that there has been some such influence.

The experience of Mr Stokes and myself in the short-lived Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus impressed us with the strength of this feeling in the Indian Church. Not only were comparisons apt to be made between us and other missionaries to the detriment of the latter, but the conception of two standards of holiness was clearly shown—one of the man ' in the world,' fatally hindered by the cares of life and especially by marriage, and a higher one of the man who had freed himself from these entanglements. ' You live a holy life and fulfil the Christian ideal, but how can we do so ? ' Again and again this feeling was clearly visible, or was even expressed in words.

But we must not too readily assume that all this is due to Hinduism. History has amply shown how easily exaggerations and distortions can grow of the warnings of Christ on the dangers of riches or the teaching of St John on ' the world,' and, indeed, how difficult it has been found to frame a satisfactory doctrine on these matters. If, therefore, the Indian Church shows a tendency similar to the great stream of Hindu thought which surrounds it, the latter may not have done more than reinforce a tendency which sprang from within Christianity itself. It remains, however, that such reinforcement may have large conse-

quences in the future, especially since the causes which up to the present have hindered the influence of Hinduism on Christianity will become steadily weaker.

(*c*) An expectation and even a demand that Christian sadhus should be (as they are) men of prayer and evangelists to both Christians and non-Christians. Here, as might have been foretold, the Hindu spirit of individualism has been entirely superseded by the Christian spirit of fellowship and service.

The Indian Church, therefore, has shown that it is ready to welcome a Christian sadhuism, and I have myself no doubt that it will one day be a great movement. History would falsify itself if it were not so. For on the one side Christian experience has shown that in all ages and in all countries some are called to follow their Lord and serve His Church with the ideals and methods of monks, hermits or friars. On the other side it cannot but be that the peculiar characteristics and tendencies of India, developed through thousands of years and expressed in the great (though often terribly perverted) institution of sadhuism, should in due time colour and mould an Indian Christianity. It has not done so yet, because Christianity in India is so little Indian. It has been cut off from the life and thought of the country, and dominated by western personalities and methods. But these things are essentially transitory. Already the Indian Church is beginning to grow as a living organism, to feel and think for itself, and everything is in favour of its rapid development as a truly national Church. As it so develops, one of its features will be a great movement of Christian sadhuism.

It must be remembered, however, that the particular direction which a general development may take, and the actual date of appearance of a visible and striking movement, must always largely depend upon the appearance of a leader, who converts tendencies and sporadic efforts into a movement or an institution upon which he impresses his own personality. India may have in the future either an

Anthony, a Benedict, or a Francis, or very probably a man or men who will lead the Church in directions not exactly indicated by any of these names.

Whatever the main current or currents of Indian Christian sadhuism may be, there need be no fear but that it will be very strongly and definitely Christian. It will, I predict, follow the Way of Devotion rather than that of Knowledge, and will have prayer, evangelism and service as its chief notes. I can hazard no guess as to how far it will be organized in definite orders or brotherhoods.

It will bring with it difficulties and even dangers. Chief of these will be the dualism already spoken of, which regards mundane things as necessarily antagonistic to spiritual, and sets up a double standard of holiness. Much harm is likely to be done by heresies of this type.

Christian sadhuism, again, will probably be somewhat similar to the Hindu movement in giving shelter and even encouragement to a number of beggars. Of the present five sadhus in North India mentioned above, one is purely fraudulent, and another has a good deal of the beggar in him. It is not impossible that a proportion such as this should be found in the future Christian sadhuism. It is, after all, much smaller than that found among Hindu sadhus ; and the Indian Church is likely for long to have large classes of the ignorant and credulous who give alms to such men either from mistaken reverence or from a superstitious fear of their wrath.

The same classes, moreover, will doubtless form a fertile ground for the growth of stories of wonders and miracles. Uneducated and semi-educated India is probably not more credulous than mediæval Europe was, but it is certainly equally so ; and here, as in many other points, it may confidently be expected that the history of the Middle Ages will—with due variation—repeat itself in India.

These difficulties and dangers are real, but it would be entirely unwise and wrong for the leaders of the Church, especially if they are foreigners, to seek to discourage

sadhuism from fear of them. St Francis lived in vain if he did not show us that a Christian sadhuism need not regard God's world as evil, and may cure rather than cause such heresies. As for encouragement of beggary or of undue love of the miraculous, these are certainly evils which should be avoided or corrected; as should also those equally real evils in the West of a charity which loses the human touch and a knowledge which is unable to see the miraculous and the divine. In any case, the chief point to be clear about in this connexion is that this is above all others a case where foreigners should refrain from forcing their ideas on the Indian Church, but must allow and encourage it to think and act for itself, even in directions where danger is anticipated. Except in so far as it is our temporary duty to exercise authority in the Church—a duty which we earnestly hope will rapidly diminish—we shall be the wiser, the less we try to control an indigenous movement such as sadhuism. If, as I believe will be the case, the movement is based on devotion to our Lord and the desire to follow Him, we may be sure that His Spirit will guide the Church, and make even exaggerations and perversions work together for good.

F. J. Western

Note.—Though it is not directly connected with the subject of this paper, it may be of use to give very briefly three pieces of advice to any Europeans who believe that they are called, or hope that they may be called, to the life of a sadhu in India.

1. No foreigner should take up the life of a sadhu till he has been at least three years in India. This might not be so necessary if there were organized sadhu brotherhoods which would care for and train the foreign novice, but would probably even then be desirable, since it takes two or three years for a man to know where he stands in India, and to discover his physical and spiritual capabilities for missionary work of any sort.

2. The European who takes up the life of a sadhu should not be alone, even after some experience, unless in the course of time he becomes certain that he has a special call to the solitary life. The reason for this is partly the external difficulties of the life, but still more the internal and spiritual dangers. Even more than other forms of the monastic or devoted life, it is one of special strain, which may easily lead to very grave abnormalities on the physical and psycho-physical side. The very fineness of a man's nature may make him all the more subject to these dangers, which are much lessened if he is not alone. I need not more than mention the more obvious dangers of the blunting or twisting of the ideals of the man who has no Christian companionship.

3. The foreign sadhu should work entirely with and under Indians. In many matters it has been right and necessary that initially the foreigner should lead, and then this leading be converted into co-operation. In the sadhu movement the leadership and guidance should be Indian from the beginning onwards; and the foreigner will play his part by learning from the Indians and then, if he can, working with them. F. J. W.

THE SPIRITUAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE MISSIONARY

By HOWARD ARNOLD WALTER

The lack of any pre-requisite to missionary service which has its roots in character, however fundamental it may appear to be, need not be a permanent barrier in the pathway of an aspiring candidate. There are resources in God sufficient not only to uproot the most repugnant weeds of character but to implant in hearts the seeds of a new personality which shall be truly representative of the spirit of Christ. If we aspire to go forth as messengers of the good tidings that in Christ all can be made new, it is obviously of the first importance that our lives as well as our lips should bear the message, that we should bring with us that life which is rather to be caught by contagion than taught by precept. It were better for the Kingdom that the ablest candidate should remain at home than that he should live on the field anything but a truly Christ-like life. But far better than remaining at home, let him search until he find for himself the 'pearl of great price.'

How then shall a man know whether he possesses the spirit of the Master and possesses it with such tenacity and in such abundance that it will remain virile and contagious under the difficult and untried conditions of the field to which he goes? What is the unfailing touchstone of the new life in Christ by which our characters can be tested?

I believe it is *brotherliness*. Christ came to reveal God as a Father, which involves the true sonship of man. And man can only enter into God's family and know Him

as Father in proportion as he acts and feels like a brother—the kind of brother Jesus was—to all His fellowmen.

The reason why this phase of the Christian Way comes into special prominence in connexion with the out-going missionary is that the average Christian in the home-land is not tested with respect to his essential brotherliness as is every missionary very early in his service on the field. Hence the prospective missionary is prone to take for granted his possession of that quality, and possibly he does not discover until he reaches the field, perhaps he does not discover at all, that he has never really possessed it.

Nearly every failure on the field, traced to its source, would be found to have arisen from the unbrotherly character, or conduct, of the missionary. The question, then, presses upon us, How shall a man determine in advance whether or not he possesses the brotherly spirit of Christ, so needed in every land? What tests can he apply which will compel his conduct in the past to yield the answer to this all-important question? What, in other words, are the tests which, if applied to the early lives of successful missionaries, would indicate how far they had revealed, before their departure for the field, the brotherly spirit of true missionaries?

The tests are three:

1. The social test. There are distinctions enough already, in the lands to which the missionaries go, without further additions from so-called Christian nations. The historic origin of caste in India, where it has had its most formidable development, is found in the snobbishness of those members of the Aryan race who first pushed down into India, then inhabited, they believed, by wholly inferior races with whom they did not desire to mix. Perhaps it is a peculiarly Aryan trait. Certainly insidious social distinctions and antipathies have invaded even the Christian Church, to our shame be it said. The missionary, however, must be the exponent of the purest, truest Christian brotherliness, in ideal and in action. The least taint of

snobbishness will vitiate all his activities among the people to whom he goes and whom he must sincerely regard—the greatest and the least of them—as his brothers ' for whom Christ died.' The sensitive Indian or Chinese will be quick to detect the least trace of a feeling of superiority. The real problem emerges when we consider how potential missionaries can make sure of the quality and extent of their brotherliness, when their lives have been lived among people of their own station in life, where it has seemed easy and natural to ' love everybody.'

I think that in most cases the candidate's preparatory school or college record will provide the necessary test. Let him ask himself with searching sincerity : ' Did I, in those days when I was placed in a new environment, choose my friends and confine my associations within the limits of a small and congenial clique ? Did the haunting fear of unpopularity, of being " queered " by unpopular associates, lead me to avoid any intimacies with the socially undesirable or ostracized ? Or, on the contrary, did my single desire to serve the Master flood my heart with a passion of love that speedily found quickening friendships among men in every station and level of the college community ? Was I a friend of the exclusive few, or the brother of all in need ? If the former, there was something radically wrong with my Christianity ; and unless or until it has been corrected, further steps toward missionary service should not be taken.'

If we scrutinize the early life of successful missionaries do we not usually find that they qualify in this regard ?

I should like to cite as an example my own room-mate during my freshman year in college—a man who afterward was sent to Turkey as a missionary and, following a career of brilliant promise but tragic brevity, rendered up his life as a martyr to Turkish fanaticism. The most conspicuous characteristic of his college life was his utter lack of regard for social distinctions, although he happened to come from an aristocratic and wealthy home. His

intimate friends were found not only among all classes in college but among all classes in society as well. Whenever there was a man who was shunned or unnoticed by the majority because of some peculiarity or shyness in his nature, this Good Samaritan sought him out, won his confidence and drew him into his own circle of wide and inspiring friendships. He lived in a 'house by the side of the road.' His was the kind of a life which we could imagine Jesus Christ living in the midst of the unthinking cruelties and unbrotherly divisions of the college world to-day. And the college is the world seen in a microcosm. There we find present all the elements of the larger experience which will follow in the world; and there a man's habits and attitudes for the future are largely determined. An aristocrat in the college world will, in nine cases out of ten, remain an aristocrat all his life in the church, in business, and in society; and while he may succeed in certain lines of work, he cannot be a successful missionary, using the word 'success' in the highest sense.

It might be helpful here to name two of the ingredients of brotherliness in social intercourse which can be cultivated, once the new heart has given birth to an attitude which is fundamentally democratic because essentially Christian.

The first is *humility*. Snobbishness arises from a sense of superiority which soon leads to a craving for a certain measure of deference from those considered inferior. It is a matter of the inward heart rather than of the outward situation. There may be a condition of master and servant, even of actual slavery, without a trace of unbrotherliness; and, on the other hand, perfect social and political equality may co-exist with an un-Christ-like spirit of snobbishness, all the more dangerous because hidden so deep.

The humility of the Christian arises first of all from the knowledge that all that he has and is comes through no merit of his own and can therefore in no way minister to

his pride in his own inheritance or achievements. At a later period experience reinforces the humility which faith begets. The more we know of the world the less do we find that genius and genuine success run along the lines of birth and breeding. If we look at the men of our college days, do we discover, as a rule, that it is the sons of 'the best families' who are moving the world forward toward the far-off goal of righteousness and justice and truth? I think not. And what is true in the West is true in the East. The strong back-bone of the Church of Christ in China and India to-day consists of converts from the lowest classes whose lives have been transformed and dignified by their new allegiance to Christ. Many of the despised outcasts of India, and more of their children, are now making their mark in the Christian Church and community.

The second characteristic of the brotherly spirit as shown in social relationships is *breadth of interests*; and this can be deliberately and extensively cultivated. Much of our snobbishness, egotism and provincialism is the result of the narrow range of our habitual interests. We little realize how fascinating are the people outside our own little circle and how much our lives would be enriched by association with them, because of our ignorance of them, born of a narrowly circumscribed social horizon. If we took as our guiding principle the motto of the old Roman Seneca: 'Nothing pertaining to man is alien to my interest,' we should soon find that for us at least social barriers would no longer exist.

A good way to begin would be to determine always to see the other side of every question and of every situation, to know not only 'how the other half lives' but how it thinks and feels, and *why*. If we are naturally conservative, let us learn, not from books but from life, why there are so many radicals. Let us strive to see sympathetically the points of view of socialists, trade unionists, syndicalists, militarists and pacifists, allowing our sympathies to

range over a far wider area than the little circle of our tested and approved convictions. If we do this early in life we shall carry with us to the foreign field a habit of mind and a quality of spirit which will ensure an immediate and sympathetic interest in all the varied phases of life and thought into the midst of which we are thrust.

2. The racial test. If we feel that we have passed the social test we are ready to move on and apply the severer racial test. It is one thing to enter deeply and sympathetically into the lives of those, in every station of society, who are of our own race and colour and mode of life. It is quite another thing to be able to bury our lives, with entire *abandon*, in the hearts of a people who are of a different race altogether. This fact some missionaries have discovered to their sorrow. They were willing and able to mingle with the Japanese, or Siamese, or Turks, as the case might be, in all that concerned their own duties as missionaries; but there the intercourse ended. In the real test, in the area of their recreational life, they failed. The question is not so much whether we can preach to the people among whom we go, and attend church with them, and serve on committees with them, and make formal calls upon them; but it is whether, when play-time comes, the hour of relaxation and recreation, we are found among our own fellow-nationals or among our new friends on the field. The successful missionaries, like Verbeck of Japan and Martin of China and Chamberlain of India, so far identified themselves with the people of their adoption that they felt and lived as though the East was their original home and these were their blood-relations.

How then shall the preliminary test be applied at home? Perhaps the fact that it has not been applied more searchingly may serve to explain some of the more conspicuous failures on the field. We in America are specially fortunate in being situated in the midst of so many alien races. Let us ask what has been our attitude toward them—in the south, toward the negro; in the north, toward the

Jew and the Italian; in the West, toward the Chinese and the Japanese. Have we thought of them as our brothers and shown toward them an unfailing attitude of understanding love? Or have we been known to echo, at times, the unbrotherly expressions of antipathy unhappily common to so many of our own people? Our capacity for missionary service is at stake here; until we have attained Christ's own spirit in this respect we may be sure that we will do more harm than good abroad, where it will not be enough that we shall love these people, in an abstract and unreal (so-called) 'Christian' sense. We must 'like' them also and truly enjoy our life among them. If we do not, they will be quick to perceive the taint of professionalism and to resent our clannishness.

At this point it may be helpful to mention two ways in which we may cultivate this attitude, with the help of the Spirit.

First, let us *beware of generalizing*, and learn always to individualize. Let us not think and speak of 'the Jews,' 'the Japs,' 'the Poles,' and so on, adding glib labels, not wholly complimentary, which we believe apply to every member of the species mentioned. The missionary must consider each person he meets as an individual, a child of God, a brother in Christ. For him there is 'neither Jew nor Greek,' neither Japanese nor Indian, but only a human soul in need. It is his to discover and deal with the essential resemblances between men, not their separating differences, and he soon finds them at bottom wondrously alike.

In the second place, let us seek to possess an *enlarged capacity for personal friendship*. Friendship is the bridge over the gulf which separates race and race. And it is the sure cure for the generalizing habit. Let us say that I have always believed what some one has told me that 'the Japanese are conceited and unreliable.' Then there comes into my life a friendship with a noble young Japanese, who proves to be humble, lovable, and unfailingly dependable. My generalization breaks down. I am bound to

think of the Japanese, henceforth, at their best in terms of my friend's character, which is as positively and clearly known to me as my own. Henceforth I shall love all the Japanese in him and because of him who has become their representative before the bar of my challenging mind and heart. In the bonds of friendship, race and colour are obliterated. All externals fall away and only the invisible spirit, with its affinities, its ideals, its glorious fidelities, remains. The true missionary is a man of many and diverse friendships, and those friendships are the avenues along which he is ever moving into more intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the people, his brothers, his friends, to whom he has come with the great Good News.

3. The religious test. This is perhaps the most important and the most difficult test of the brotherliness of the missionary. It is sad and strange but true that it is in the sphere of religion that the most acrimonious disputes between men occur. And in the presence of the dogmatism and proselytism and scorn of a religion other than our own, we are amazed to see how swiftly all our supposed tolerance and sympathy falls away.

The missionary who goes into the midst of a people of another faith, perhaps of several faiths, who constitute the vast majority, is undertaking a mission which will test to the uttermost the quality of his spirit. Professor D. B. Macdonald, in his *Aspects of Islam*, has admirably stated a fundamental, but too little regarded, missionary principle in these words : ' The paradox, in truth, of the missionary's life is that he must have a liking for his people and their queerest little ways even while he is trying to change them.' That is no easy achievement, so far to indentify ourselves with these people of another faith that we understand why they feel and think as they do and sympathize with them in their hopes and fears, all the while allowing not the least abatement of our enthusiasm for our own faith and our conviction of its unique and imperative adequacy. It would be less difficult if we could always count on finding

some traces of the spirit which we seek to bring; but, in many cases, we shall find not simply the absence of appreciation, or indifference only, but active hostility. We must be brothers to people who may scorn and despise us, or fear and hate us, always keeping ourselves on the same high level of genuine appreciation and sympathy. For the missionary in many lands, the necessity of loving those who hate him, who desire to compass his destruction or at least his removal to some other sphere of labour, is a very real experience. It is not always such open, frank hostility as may menace his activities in certain Muhammadan countries. It may be the more subtle and even more unpleasant animosity of societies like the Arya Samaj in India, where apparent friendliness masks the bitterest secret hatred and enmity.

When we seek to apply this test to the prospective missionary's early life at home, we are met at once by the fact that it has presumably been lived among people professing some form of his own religion. At the same time the spirit with which a man moves among those of his fellows who are ranged on the other side of the fence which encloses his own little plot of belief and approved orthodoxy, will be a good index of his future success or failure. What is his attitude, for instance, toward his brothers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, or toward his fellow-churchmen who are more conservative or more liberal, as the case may be, than he is himself? It will also be well for the candidate to ask what has been his attitude in the past toward those who might be considered his enemies, who not only disagreed with him but actively disliked him, perhaps to the extent of doing him an injury when the opportunity offered? Has he sought to overcome evil with good? Has he, in the language of occultism, sent always positive and friendly waves through the ether to meet and overcome the hostile thoughts and purposes of those who persecute him and speak evil of him falsely? If he has not achieved that crucial victory of the spirit

in his early years at home, it is hardly to be expected that he will be victorious on the far more harassing battle-fields which lie before him.

In this connexion, likewise, we might mention two elements of brotherliness, the cultivation of which will go far to ensure a right attitude on the field toward people of a different faith.

The first is *the gift of appreciation*, applied especially in the sphere of comparative religions. We no longer go forth as those who have come to destroy and supplant, but rather as seeking to discover and fulfil. We rejoice in every evidence we can find of the working of God's Spirit, witnessing to His being and majesty and moving among the nations. Reverently we peruse the pages sacred for many centuries to multitudes of eager, aspiring hearts upon which the supreme revelation of God's love in Christ has yet to dawn. If we study with appreciation and approbation the writings of the Greek and Latin classical authors, with how much more diligence and eagerness should we pore over the pages of the Bhagavad Gita, the Koran, or the Four Books of Confucius? Such a study and spirit surely imply no disloyalty to Christ, the most chivalrous and genuinely appreciative soul that ever lived. Let St Paul, the first and greatest Christian missionary, be His interpreter in this respect. 'He met the pagan peasants of Lystra and the cultured students of Athens on the common ground of universal religion. Having established a close point of contact, he led them on tactfully to the appreciation and acceptance of his own point of view. To the Jews he appealed on the basis of the promises entwined in their ancient scriptures. To use his own figure, he never planted his blows as one who beats the air. To his earnest and consummate tact he added a profound sympathy for those whom he sought to reach. His method, like that of Jesus, was not negative and destructive, but prevailingly positive and constructive.'

It is this spirit on the mission field to-day, as in St

Paul's time, which overcomes opposition and commands a hearing. I remember how invariably eager were many of the Hindu students, whom I knew in a certain city in Northern India, to hear and, if possible, to meet and talk with the author of *The Crown of Hinduism*, on his periodical visits to that city, because they felt that he was genuinely interested in and sympathetic toward their own cherished sacred writings. Because of his reputation for fairness and appreciation he received a wide and open-minded hearing for his convincing testimony to the universal need and adequacy of the Christian truth. His own statement of the true Christian missionary attitude, in the *International Review of Missions* for July 1916 (p. 466), is worth quoting in this connexion :—

> Can there be any real doubt as to the attitude which the Christian ought to adopt? It is the quiet, sober, sympathetic, truth-seeking spirit of the scholar that gets to understand things in every province of human inquiry: and in the domain of religion above all the effort to learn needs the illumination of the heart to help in the task. If we look at the question from the point of view of our desire to win men for Christ, the conclusion must be the same. The more fully the question of the relative value of Christianity and the faiths of India comes into public discussion, the more need there is for a quiet reasonable manner and a will to see the best as well as the worst in the teaching and the traditional usages of the religions: harshness and condemnation can only repel. It is quite possible to express a Christian judgment on all that is vile without wounding the Indian spirit.

The second characteristic which the missionary needs is *the patience of assured faith*. If we are certain that with us is the ultimate victory, we shall be proof against the irritation and discouragement that will otherwise be our response to the pride and bigotry which we may find arrayed against us. We need not only 'the patience of unanswered prayer' but the patience of unrequited love as well;—that persistence of love which 'beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things.' This was the distinguishing characteristic of the love of Christ.

Instance after instance could be given to show how love like this, flowing from the heart of the missionary,

has accomplished what argument and oratory had been powerless to effect, in winning Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims to Christ. One of the few converts in the Punjab from the bigoted Hindu society, the Arya Samaj, told me how he was first attracted to Christianity by observing the unruffled demeanour of a Christian missionary preaching in a bazaar, when he was derided and insulted by some of his auditors. From the days of St Peter and St Paul to the present time such undiscourageable, faith-born love, in the face of opposition and contumely, has been the distinguishing badge of the Christian Way and the pledge of its final victory.

In these days when the gospel of force, variously interpreted, is finding so many voices and champions, even in Christian lands, it behoves the missionaries of the Cross to realize that they are the only group of men and women who can be the media and exponents of the gospel of reconciling love throughout the nations, even to the world's ends. In the spread of this true spirit of brotherliness lies the hope for the future, and this is the Christian missionary's glorious task.

HOWARD ARNOLD WALTER

ACTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

BEARING ON THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

BELGIAN CONGO

CONVENTION REVISING THE BERLIN AND BRUSSELS ACTS

THE Convention revising the General Act of Berlin, February 26, 1885, and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels, July 2, 1890, signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919 (text given in IRM, October 1920, pp. 595–6), is applicable to the Belgian Congo.

COLONIAL CHARTER

(Loi, 18 Octobre 1908 : Gouvernement du Congo Belge.)

2. Tous les habitants de la colonie jouissent des droits reconnus par les articles 7, alinéas 1er et 2, 8 à 15, 16, alinéa 1er, 17, alinéa 1er, 21, 22 et 24 de la Constitution belge . . .[1]

5. Le Gouverneur Général veille à la conservation des populations indigènes et à l'amélioration de leurs conditions morales et matérielles d'existence. Il favorise l'expansion de la liberté individuelle, l'abandon progressif de la polygamie et le développement de la propriété. Il protège et favorise, sans distinction de nationalités ni de cultes, toutes les institutions et entreprises religieuses, scientifiques ou charitables, créées et organisées à ces fins ou tendant à instruire les indigènes et à leur faire comprendre et apprécier les avantages de la civilisation.

Les missionnaires chrétiens, les savants, les explorateurs, leurs escortes, avoir et collections sont l'objet d'une protection spéciale.

6. Il est institué une commission permanente de sept membres chargée de veiller sur tout le territoire de la Colonie à la protection des indigènes et à l'amélioration de leurs conditions morales et matérielles d'existence.

[1] The articles which affect Christian missions are the following :

14. La liberté des cultes, celle de leur exercice public, ainsi que la liberté de manifester ses opinions en toute matière, sont garanties, sauf la répression des délits commis à l'occasion de l'usage de ces libertés.

15. Nul ne peut être contraint de concourir d'une manière quelconque aux actes et aux cérémonies d'un culte, ni d'en observer les jours de repos.

16. Al, 1er. L'Etat n'a le droit d'intervenir ni dans la nomination, ni dans l'installation des ministres d'un culte quelconque, ni de défendre à ceux-ci de correspondre avec leurs supérieurs et de publier leurs actes, sauf, en ce dernier cas, la responsabilité en matière de presse et de publication.

Le Roi fixe le nombre des membres de la commission; il en arrête le règlement organique.

La commission est présidée par le procureur général près le tribunal d'appel de la Colonie. Les autres membres sont nommés par le Roi parmi les personnes résidant sur le territoire de la Colonie qui, par la nature de leurs fonctions ou occupations, paraissent spécialement qualifiées pour accomplir cette mission protectrice. La commission, nomme son secrétaire dans son sein. Elle se réunit au moins une fois chaque année: son président la convoque.

Le Roi peut diviser la commission en sous-commissions, dont it arrête le règlement organique.

Tous les ans, la commission adresse au Roi un rapport collectif sur les mesures à prendre en faveur des indigènes. Ce rapport est publié.

Les membres de la commission dénoncent, même individuellement, aux officiers du ministère public, les abus et les illégalités dont seraient victimes les indigènes.

DECREE 28TH DECEMBER 1888.

(Décret du Roi-Souverain, Institutions, Associations scientifiques, religieuses, philanthropiques, etc., Personnalité civile.)

1. Les institutions religieuses, scientifiques ou philanthropiques créées par le gouvernement sont administrées et representées, et leur capacité civile est réglée de la manière indiquée par le décret qui les établit.

2. Les associations privées qui ont pour but de s'occuper d'œuvres religieuses, scientifiques ou philanthropiques peuvent, par décret spécial, recevoir la personnalité civile dans les limites et aux conditions déterminées aux articles 3, 4, 5 et 6 ci-après.

3. La personnalité civile doit être demandée par requête adressée au Gouverneur-Général.

Le requête énoncera:

(1) L'objet spécial en vue duquel l'association est constituée;

(2) La dénomination qu'elle portera;

(3) Le siége de l'association, lequel ne pourra être qu'une localité située sur le territoire de l'Etat Indépendant du Congo.

Indépendamment de toutes autres pièces et justifications que le gouvernement général pourra réclamer, la requête devra être accompagnée:

(*a*) D'une liste complète des membres effectifs, dressée conformément à l'article 4 ci-après:

(*b*) D'une déclaration indiquant, conformément à l'article 5, le ou les membres effectifs qui seront les représentants légaux de l'association.

La requête et ses annexes devront être signées par la majorité au moins des membres effectifs.

4. Les associations qui sollicitent et celles qui ont obtenu la personnalité civile sont tenues de produire, chaque fois qu'elles en sont requises par le Gouverneur-Général, une liste donnant les nom, prénoms, profession, nationalité et résidence de tous leurs membres effectifs.

Sont seuls réputés membres effectifs dans le sens du présent décret les membres de l'association résidant dans l'Etat Indépendent du Congo, et ils ne sont réputés tels que pendant le temps qu'ils y résident.

La liste des membres effectifs doit être signée, si le Gouverneur-Général l'exige, par la majorité au moins de ses membres..

5. Les associations reconnues comme personnes civiles agissent par l'organe d'un ou de plusieurs membres effectifs, chargés, comme représentants légaux de ces associations, d'administrer et de gérer leurs affaires.

Le mandat dont le ou les représentants légaux d'une association sont investis, est officiellement constaté par une déclaration remise au Gouverneur-Général et portant la signature de la majorité au moins des membres effectifs. Cette déclaration doit être renouvelée chaque fois qu'un changement survient dans la représentation légale de l'association.

Si le mandat donné aux représentants légaux d'une association est limité à un temps déterminé, il en sera fait mention dans la déclaration.

La déclaration peut indiquer un ou plusieurs membres effectifs chargés de remplacer temporairement, come suppléants, le ou les représentants légaux en cas d'absence, de décès ou de cessation du mandat de ces derniers.

Les représentants légaux et leurs suppléants doivent, pour pouvoir agir légalement, être agréés par Nous.

Ils pourront toutefois être agréés provisoirement par le Gouverneur-Général, et notre agréation sera réputée acquise si aucune décision contraire n'est intervenue dans les six mois qui suivront le dépôt de la déclaration visée au deuxième alinéa du présent article.

6. Lorsque, par suite de décès, d'absence, de refus d'agréation ou de non accomplissement des formalités exigées par l'article 5, une association cessera d'avoir un représentant légal au Congo, le Gouverneur-Général pourra commettre une ou plusieurs personnes pour la représenter et administrer provisoirement ses affaires.

Si cette administration provisoire dure plus de deux ans sans qu'un représentant légal ait été désigné conformément à l'article 5, la dissolution de l'association pourra être prononcée par décret, et le gouvernement disposera de l'avoir social selon qu'il le jugera convenable en l'affectant à une destination se reppartant autant que possible au but pour lequel l'association avait été fondée.

7. Toute association ou institution légale peut ester en justice, contracter et transiger.

Elle peut acquérir à titre onéreux ou gratuit, aliéner et échanger toutes espèces de biens meubles, sauf les restrictions apportées à ce droit par décret.

8. Elle peut acquérir a titre onéreux ou gratuit, aliéner, échanger et rendre en location des immeubles, mais seulement dans la mesure que le Gouverneur-Général jugera nécessaire ou utile pour réaliser le but de l'association, et sans que, dans aucun cas, elle puisse détenir dans l'Etat, même en location, plus de 50 hectares de terres dans une même localité, à moins d'une autorisation spéciale donnée par décret.

9. Le bénéfice de la personnalité civile pourra être retiré après enquête, par décret, à toute institution ou association qui cesserait de s'occuper exclusivement de l'objet en vue duquel elle a été fondée ou reconnue, qui porterait atteinte à l'ordre public, ou qui ne fournirait pas avec exactitude et sincérité la liste de ses membres effectifs lorsque cette liste sera réclamée en vertu de l'article 5.

Le retraite de la personnalité civile étant prononcé le Gouvernement disposera de l'avoir social de la manière indiquée au 2 alinéa de l'article 6.

DECREES RELATING TO TAXATION

Décret du Roi-Souverain. 9 *Avril* 1892.—2. Sont exempts des droits d'entrée: . . .

(3) Les instruments de science et de précision, ainsi que les objets servant au culte; . . .

Décret du Roi-Souverain. 28 *Mai* 1902.—1. Le taux des impositions directes et personnelles est réduit de 50 p.c. en faveur des institutions et entreprises religieuses, scientifiques et charitables.

Décret. 17 *Mars* 1910.—5. Ne sont pas soumis à la contribution personnelle sur la première base (Bâtiments) . . .

(5) Les édifices du culte; les hôpitaux, les hospices, les écoles les établissements religieux et scientifiques, à l'exception des bâtiments et dépendances servant à l'habitation du personnel non indigène.

Arrêté du Ministre des Colonies. 1er *Décembre* 1913.—Transports par les bateaux de la Colonie sur le réseau fluvial du Haut-Congo Règlement et tarifs.

24. Les associations philanthropiques et religieuses jouissent d'une réduction de 30 p.c. sur tous les tarifs précédents, sauf pour les marchandises à la descente, pour lesquelles les dispositions générales leur sont appliquées.

Ordonnance du Vice-Gouverneur-Général du Katanga. 1er *Mai* 1912.—Transports par les vapeurs de la Colonie sur les lacs Tanganyika et Moëro.—Règlement.—Tarifs.

3. Les associations philanthropiques et religieuses jouissent d'une réduction de 30 p.c. sur tous les tarifs précédents, sauf pour le caoutchouc et l'ivoire.

DUTCH COLONIES

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS: DUTCH EAST INDIES

(Regeeringsreglement 2 Sept. 1854)

119. Everyone shall have complete freedom to confess his religious beliefs subject to the protection of society and its members against infringement of the general ordinances of the penal code.

120. All public religious services within buildings or enclosed places shall be permitted in so far as these cause no disturbance of the public order. For public religious services outside buildings and enclosed places the permission of the Government shall be required.

121. The Governor-General shall ensure that all religious sects keep within the bounds of obedience to the general ordinances.

122. In the existing organisation and the government of the Christian churches no change shall be made except by mutual agreement between the King and the authorities of the church concerned.

123. Christian teachers, priests and missionaries must be provided with a special permission granted by the Governor-General or in his name in order to carry on their work in any particular part of the Dutch Indies. If the permission is found harmful, or the conditions thereo fare not fulfilled, it may be withdrawn by the Governor-General.

124. Native priests who do not profess the Christian religion shall be under the supervision of the princes, rulers and chiefs in so far as concerns the religion which each of them professes.

These will make sure that nothing is undertaken by the priests which would be inconsistent with these regulations and with the ordinances promulgated by the Governor-General or in his name.

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS: SURINAME

(Regeeringsreglement 31 Mei 1865)

(*The Regulations for Curaçao are practically identical*)

141. Everyone shall have complete freedom to confess his religious beliefs subject to the protection of society and its members against infringement of the penal code.

142. In the colony the same protection will be accorded to all recognized churches.

143. The Governor shall ensure that all churches keep within the bounds of obedience to the legal regulations and the established authorities of the colony.

144. The followers of the different religious beliefs shall enjoy all the same legal and civil rights and shall have equal claim to hold dignities, offices and commissions.

145. Public worship and religious services shall be subject to no limitations beyond those laid down by colonial ordinances in the interest of public order, peace and morality.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

LE DOGME ET LA LOI DE L'ISLAM

Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam. Histoire du développement dogmatique et juridique de la religion musulmane. Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction de Félix Arin. Paris: Paul Geuthner. 25 frs. 1920.

When this book appeared in its original German form (*Vorlesungen über den Islam*) in 1910, it could be fairly claimed for it that there was no other book in existence which did what it did, and did so well. What criticisms there were of it were practically all wishes that it had been longer; and then it would not have been the compact introduction which it was. That unique place it still holds. The student of Islam, whatever his objects and attitudes, will find in it a clear, authoritative and concise statement of the most important sides of Moslem thought. The present French translation was to have appeared in 1914 but has been delayed six years by the war. Except as to the notes on the last four chapters (pp. 264–300) it has had the advantage of Goldziher's own revision, and can be regarded as a second and revised edition of his book. There have been some corrections and at least one short addition, marked with square brackets, on p. 247. So, if we cannot have an English translation —that published by the Yale University Press in 1917 had to be withdrawn on account of errors and there seems no hope of another —this French version will do good service among English readers. Almost certainly more of these know French than ever before in the history of the two languages, and even readers of ordinary German may find M. Arin's style more lucid than Goldziher's.[1] Until, then, Goldziher himself publishes a second and enlarged edition—as we must all hope he will—this French form of his book will hold the field. There is only one point of regret as to it. The quite inadequate index of the original edition has been taken over without additions, although with the necessary transcriptional changes, and

[1] I have noticed, so far, only one slip. On p. 87 in the translation of Kor. lxviii. 42 'cuisse' should be 'jambe.' Goldziher renders the *sāq* of the original 'Schenkel' by which he evidently means 'shank,' strictly the 'Unterschenkel.' 'Cuisse' suggests 'thigh' and makes the interpretation of the text still more *outré*.

such a book as this, because of the wealth of material stored up in it, calls for an exhaustive index.

The book falls into six chapters. I. Mohammed and Islam; the personality and attitude of the Founder; his idea of Allah and the Book of Allah; the influence of all these on Islam. II. The development of law, meaning by that canon law; the bases; the four schools; casuistry. III. The theological development and its problems; the systems of the scholastic dogmaticians, orthodox and heretical. IV. Asceticism and mysticism; the religious life and its phenomena and theories as contrasted with theological speculation. V. The sects; Sunnites and Shi'ites; the different theories of the Moslem state. VI. Further developments and transformations in theology, law and state; the Sunna and modernism; the latest movements. To each chapter there is appended an elaborate series of notes and references occupying, in this edition, the last fifty pages. These often enter into details which would have made the text over-complicated and which are intended for more advanced students with access to Arabic sources, to whom, indeed, alone they will be fully intelligible. Yet the student, as he goes on, will find it to his advantage to read his way ever deeper into them, and they will gradually yield up to him their secrets. For this is no book to be studied and then dropped, but an enchiridion for years.

The student will find also that he cannot study it chapter by chapter and finish with each, but that he will have to make constant reference back and weave, at least in his own mind and memory, the different developments of state, law, theology and religion into one. They all belong to one another and should make a single picture; it is one life, the whole life of Islam, which lies behind them all. In that respect, the German title, 'Lectures on Islam,' strikes a note of unity and completeness which is lacking in the French. Thus there will grow up before him the vivified organism of Islam, a much more simple social organism than our modern complications and one far more nearly akin to our own mediæval organism of Christendom, and best to be understood as it is laid alongside of that and analysed as parallel to that.

So treating the book, then, as a picture of a unity, and so comparing it with our mediæval world, the student will begin to recognize what points are here left untouched or only slightly developed. He will remember, for example, the relationship between Abelard,

Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and, equating Duns Scotus and al-Ghazzali, will wonder what philosophical development conditioned and followed the Moslem theologian. The book itself will suggest a philosophical movement and influence which it does not state and which he will have to seek elsewhere. This is the unfortunate side of Goldziher's method ; but it is only a part of the determination of so many historical thinkers to hold philosophy and theology apart, a separation which goes back to the twofold truth of Averroes himself. The student will be struck, too, by the absence, in this intellectual life, of a place for what we call science. Moslems have evidently had 'sciences' of this and that ; but no place seems to have been left for the abstract, indefinable idea of the disinterested pursuit of pure knowledge for its own sake. So far as it existed it would come under philosophy ; but it is suggestive that the 'sciences' which flourished instinctively and of themselves in the Moslem mind were not philosophical but theological, and that the others, in so far as they could not relate themselves to theology, died out. This singular development of religious utilitarianism is highly significant for Islam but it cannot be considered further here.

To the criticism in the last paragraph Goldziher might easily reply that philosophy and science lay outside of the limits which he had set for himself ; and that reply, from the point of view of the title of this French version, would be just. But life, as the old Greek said, cannot be cut in two with a hatchet, and Islam, for good and for evil, has always been a unity and must be seen as a unity if it is to be understood as it is. This book of Goldziher's gives, almost in spite of itself, the impression of that unity ; but its reader will need to take with it such a treatment of the philosophical and scientific side as De Boer's *History of Philosophy in Islam* if he wishes to fill in much that here is suggested through its very suppression. For an expansion of the doctrine of the Koran as sketched here the student will naturally take Goldziher's own *Koranauslegung*, published last year by Brill at Leyden, but not yet translated into English.

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FORMATIVE YEARS IN JAPAN

A Diplomat in Japan. By the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow. London: Seeley, Service. 32s. net. 1921.

This book covers the period from 1862 to 1869 inclusive and so has to do with some of the most critical years in the transformation of Japan. Its distinguished author arrived in the Island Empire in September, 1862, as a student interpreter, and entered with all the zest of youth upon the study of the language and the observation of the novel life around him. He was to spend twenty years in the country, and then was later to represent his government in Siam and in China. The earlier half of the present volume was written between 1885 and 1887 and is based upon recollections as well as the author's diary. The later part, written after 1919, is based entirely upon manuscripts, the author's journal, his official papers and his letters to his mother and Sir Harry Parkes. The book is therefore really a contemporary record of events by an observer who had, for a foreigner, unsurpassed opportunities to know what was transpiring.

Since Sir Ernest was attached to the British legation, his interests were chiefly in diplomacy and politics viewed from the angle of his own nation. One hears of little else. There is only the scantiest mention of missionary work and of the Church. He speaks (p. 22) of the influence upon the young nobles at Nagasaki of the American missionaries 'who gave instruction in English to the younger members of this class and imparted to them liberal ideas which had no small influence upon the future course of events.' He was helped in his study of the language by the Rev. S. R. Brown and Dr J. C. Hepburn, especially the former. He speaks rather fully (pp. 368, 369) of the anti-Christian edict of 1868 which was largely brought about, apparently, by the discovery of the Christian community near Nagasaki and the activity of the Roman Catholic missionaries in that city. Of the Japanese constitution of June 1868 he says: 'It showed marked traces of American political theories, and I have little doubt that Okuma and his fellow-clansman Soyejima, pupils of Dr Verbeck, had had a considerable part in framing it.' These traces of American influence he sees in the division of the government into judicial, legislative, and executive powers, in the four-year term of officials and in their appointment 'by a majority of votes given by ballot.'

While the above interesting but scanty notices are all that is

said of missions, as a background for the understanding of Japan during the last years of the Shogunate and the first few months of the Restoration, and hence of missionary history during that period, the book is extremely valuable. Such well-known incidents as the Richardson murder and the consequent bombardment of the forts at Kagoshima, the silencing of the Choshiu batteries on the Straits of Shimonoseki, the ratification of the treaties by the Emperor, the resignation of the Shogun, the civil war which followed, and the early audiences given to foreign diplomats by the Emperor are all told with much richness of detail. Something of the vivid interest of the boy who saw them—for Sir Ernest was then but little more than a boy—makes its way into the narrative and causes the scenes to live again for the reader.

There are other impressions which one carries away and which are even more valuable for an understanding of the years which now seem so remote. There are, for instance, the early linguistic difficulties of communicating with the Japanese officials. The diplomats knew little Japanese and the Shogun's officials less English —Dutch at times had to serve. As the years passed, interpreters such as Mitford and Sir Ernest expanded their knowledge of the language, Japanese such as Ito appeared who had learned English, and the obstacles to understanding became fewer. There is, too, vividly seen the early European ignorance of the true nature of the Japanese government gradually changing into better comprehension. The Shogun, or 'Tycoon' as the Europeans insisted on calling him, was only gradually recognized as being subordinate to the Mikado. Along with ignorance went a certain contempt for the Japanese, a contempt which showed itself upon occasion in forcible and not always courteous lectures to officials. The misunderstanding and contempt were mutual. Only fear of the foreigners' guns kept many of the officials from openly showing the disrespect which they inwardly felt, and the life of the European was frequently in jeopardy from patriotic swashbucklers who gloried in cutting down the barbarians either singly or in groups. Sir Ernest gives, too, an interesting picture of the gropings for a better form of government, of the long preparation for the overthrow of the Shogun, a movement caused in part by jealousy of the Tokugawa and in part by a genuine conviction that the *bakufu* was outworn, and of the interesting early movements after the Restoration toward a parliament and a responsible cabinet.

As one reads the book one finds oneself remembering with a start that the events recorded occurred only between fifty and sixty years ago. The contrast between the Japan which the volume pictures and the Japan of the present seems too great to be true, and yet one cannot understand the Island Empire which now is so rapidly expanding toward the mastery of the Far Orient without taking into account the brevity of time in which the transition has been made. In that very brevity and contrast lies much that explains the enigma of to-day. To one who would have more light upon that riddle this book should prove of great help.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

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THE FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AT BEIRUT

REMINISCENCES OF DANIEL BLISS. Edited and supplemented by his Eldest Son. New York: Fleming H. Revell. $2.25. 1920.

TOURISTS who flock to Beirut and admire the equipment of the Syrian Protestant College, with its campus of forty acres located on the foothills of the impressive Lebanon mountains overlooking the Mediterranean, its score of well-designed and well-constructed buildings, its five departments, its faculty of eighty members and a student body of one thousand, are not likely to consider what has been involved in the founding and development of an institution of that kind in such a place. We trust they may be persuaded to purchase a copy of this biography of Daniel Bliss. They should know that when the school was established in 1866 there were just sixteen students in attendance, and the classes were housed in four rooms of an insignificant building. It is easy to admire and commend to-day; not so easy to recognize the faith and devotion of the one who made all this possible. It is a great thing when a man can perpetuate his highest ideals and influences in an institution. This was given to General Armstrong, Dwight L. Moody, Stewart of Lovedale, Cyrus Hamlin, Joseph Neesima and a few others. The name of Daniel Bliss belongs well up in the list. His college (or university as they call it now) is one of the four or five best known higher educational institutions of missionary origin and purpose. As an international and constructive force in the modern world it ranks with the greatest of universities.

Dr Bliss was a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions before he became an educationalist, but his life for fifty years was so wrapped up in the institution which he founded that the biography of the man is practically the story of the school. The university exerts its mighty influence to-day largely because it is the incarnation, if we may use that word of an institution, of Dr Bliss's own qualities of mind and heart. As he helped to plan the buildings and in the early days paid off the workmen with his own hands, so he managed to impart his spirit to the enterprise and above all to the faculty and student bodies.

The book shows how finely the Beirut institution exemplifies the balance between culture and character. Although organized independently of any mission board, the missionary motive has never been dimmed. It has been an enterprise of learning, but it has been far more than that. In spite of the temptation, increasing with the years and never more potent than now, to compromise fundamental convictions in order to attract and hold adherents of Islam and other religious systems, the college has been able to hold a straight and steady course. Dr Howard S. Bliss, who succeeded his father in the presidency, and whose personality and career were so noteworthy that the story of his life is bound to be written one of these days, in that last utterance of his published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, under the title 'The Modern Missionary,' maintained his right to the missionary title, repudiating the idea that there could be any other than the missionary motive for the work at Beirut. Certain educational institutions of missionary origin, which have wandered rather far afield, might well study the policy of the two Blisses in this matter. The presence of a large and increasing group of Moslem students at Beirut testifies to the fact that an attitude of sympathy, tolerance and freedom in questions of religion may be maintained consistently with entire loyalty to Christian ideals and in such a way as to attract rather than repel adherents of other faiths.

It is the elder son of Dr Bliss, Professor Frederick J. Bliss, who prepares this work, which is a combination of family letters and reminiscence and an all too scanty autobiographical sketch left by the father. We would gladly know more of the personal life of such a man. But as it is, the story brings out the high points of character successfully, emphasizing that as teacher, administrator, disciplinarian, financier, father and friend, Dr Bliss held a rare combination of traits. It is interesting to find what friendships he formed

with prominent Englishmen and Scotsmen who helped him by influence or by gift, especially in the early days. The book mentions gratefully such persons as Lord Shaftesbury, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Dufferin, Dr Guthrie, Dr Norman Macleod, Dr R. W. Dale, Dr Newman Hall. Although American in origin, and now in name, the university has really been an international enterprise all along. The great service rendered by the various members of the Dodge and Jessup families of New York are of course well known. Beirut has seen a fine relationship between the man at the front and the man at the base.

Dr Bliss was of striking and beautiful appearance, tall and erect, with classical features and an abundance of snowy white hair, which, in oriental fashion, he wore long. When, at the request of his Alma Mater, Amherst College, he consented to sit for a portrait, and appeared one day in the studio, the artist exclaimed, 'Good heavens! What a head! I am so excited I do not know how to begin.' It was a worthy frame for a noble soul, wonderfully used of God.

CORNELIUS H. PATTON

BOSTON, U.S.A.

THE INVESTIGATION OF RACIAL QUESTIONS

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY. By LOTHROP STODDARD, Ph.D. New York: Scribner. $3. London: Chapman & Hall. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.

DR STODDARD in this book seeks to prove a thesis. But his thesis, the physical, mental and moral superiority of Northern Europeans over the rest of mankind, has come to be believed by most educated people in Northern Europe from an inner conviction. Its real basis is not a body of objective fact but certain feelings held in common by large numbers of men.

It is easy to see how these feelings have arisen. The people whose ancestors lived on the shores of the North Sea and on the rivers that flow into it have made an almost complete conquest, military and economic, of the rest of the world. They govern several hundred millions directly, and control, almost as effectively, the greater part of the rest. It was inevitable that a conquest so unprecedentedly complete should be regarded by the conquerors as proof of superiority and inevitable that books should be written to explain it.

But books written to offer proof of what is assumed before the

evidence is examined are scarcely likely to have the virtues of accuracy and impartiality. This book reminds the reader of the kind of Christian apologetic, now happily nearly obsolete, which 'proved' Christianity by evidence that consisted wholly in assumptions. It is in fact an apologia for a creed. Its importance lies in the fact that the creed is held by most educated people who speak English. That creed, of course, is not the Christian creed. It is even anti-Christian.

There is the very greatest need for a scientific investigation into racial questions. Such an investigation would begin by classifying the inhabitants of the world on a strictly objective plan. It would proceed by a search for the standard, physical, mental and moral, by which the different human varieties should be judged. It would devise, and so far as possible perfect, a series of tests by which degrees of approach to that standard could be estimated. And it would conclude by an application of these tests under conditions which ensured the absence of irrelevant and confusing factors.

No such procedure has been followed in the book under review, nor indeed in any book upon the subject hitherto published. Ripley's book, now twenty years old, is still the best summary of the preliminary facts of racial varieties. Beyond that stage no really scientific inquiry has been made. The subject, in fact, is in the same kind of condition as the study of the brain was in the days when the phrenologists professed to have revealed its organization and functions. Dr Stoddard's book as wholly belongs to the pre-scientific age. He not only ignores the only body of ascertained facts relevant to the subject, tests of bodily and mental functions made in schools attended by children of different racial origins living in similar conditions. He calmly falsifies the facts whenever his argument inclines him to. Taking his maps, as instance, he describes the people of these islands and of America to be Nordic, which in the main they are not; he cuts down by half or more the area inhabited by the Mediterranean race; he suppresses the fact that the Finns and the Hungarians are really Asiatics. He is so persistently and flagrantly inaccurate that one would most naturally explain the fault by dishonesty if one did not remember the host of other books written by honest men but filled with lies.

The only man who in recent years has made any attempt to treat the subject scientifically is Sir Arthur Keith. Unfortunately for Dr Stoddard's thesis Dr Keith has proved that, judged by every

objective test, most Europeans of genius, Cæsar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, for example, belong not to the Northern but to the Southern European variety of man. The Nordic race in fact, considering its opportunities, has been conspicuously lacking in men of the very highest qualities, in poets, prophets, statesmen, inventors. It is a race of soldiers, of seamen, of mechanics—in short of conquerors.

Some day the world will know what the real racial differences really are. Just now the simple fact is that they have never been even explored. So much obviously depends on irrelevant accidents, those that made Asiatics like the Hungarians and the Armenians Christian, and Indo-Europeans like the Persians Moslem. Scotland is Protestant because of a variety of political and social circumstances, while Ireland is Catholic, though a nearly identical racial blend, from another series of apparently irrelevant accidents. Yet none of the resulting differences are due to race.

No other subject of inquiry is in such dangers from prejudice, from foolish arrogance, from the fanciful hypotheses these unconsciously create in the mind. Dr Stoddard shows no fear of these dangers. He has even enthusiastically embraced them.

NORMAN LEYS

DERBY

THE NATIVES OF OCEANIA

THE ISLANDERS OF THE PACIFIC. By Lt.-Col. T. R. ST. JOHNSTON. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 25s. net. 1920.

THE NORTHERN D'ENTRECASTEAUX. By D. JENNESS and the late Rev. A. BALLANTYNE. Oxford: University Press. 12s. 6d. 1920.

AMONG THE NATIVES OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS. By EMMA HADFIELD. London: Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d. net. 1920.

THE last twenty or thirty years have witnessed a marked advance in our knowledge of the races peopling the innumerable islands of the Pacific. Archdeacon Codrington's work on the Melanesians has become a classic, and, more recently, the publications of Messrs Haddon, Rivers, Seligman, S. H. Ray and others have shed a flood of light on the subject. And it is especially gratifying to find that the Polynesian Society is carrying on first-hand research into native traditions and customs which are in danger of passing into oblivion.

The three books before us are all valuable contributions to the same cause. Colonel St Johnston has, in a manner of speaking,

taken the whole Pacific to be his province, but he is more especially concerned with Fiji and the adjacent Levu Islands. He has already published a delightful collection of fairy-tales and folk-lore from these same islands, and appears to have made the fullest use of his varied experience as medical man and administrator. The volume before us, besides being beautifully illustrated, is extremely readable. The theories which the author is at great pains to develop may not commend themselves to the cautious anthropologist; but this cannot impair our appreciation of the facts he has brought together or the genial and kindly spirit which informs the whole. One fact which he puts before us most emphatically we are glad to learn. 'There is nothing more harmful, nothing more weak and criminal, than the canting cry: "The Pacific Islanders are dying out; what is the use of bothering?" *They need not die out. . . . If the natives are given their chance* they can increase, and can be made good and useful citizens . . . and the matter lies in our hands.'

Colonel St Johnston gives a very clear account of the causes underlying the depopulation of the islands which certainly seemed to be in progress during a great part of the nineteenth century. They had, in spite of repeated migrations, become over-populated, and this resulted in wars, cannibalism and systematized infanticide. (Cannibalism, of course, was ritual and magical in its origin, but I cannot help thinking that the 'rapid degeneration . . . when it sank from a religious tasting of the temple offering to a gluttonous desire for quantities of this particular food,' may have been partly due to the scarcity of other meat.) Then, when the white man came, 'measles, whooping-cough, all sorts of trivial complaints, attacked them with fatal violence, as worn-out diseases, striking new soil, will always do.' But the foreign diseases have now, more or less, run their course, and foreign medicines and hygiene have begun to show their effects—and, in Fiji at least, the natives are steadily increasing.

Concerning the migrations which populated Melanesia and Polynesia, we have plenty of solid facts to go upon, though not enough to bridge all the gaps, which therefore can be filled in at pleasure by those interested in such speculations. The megalithic remains found both in Eastern and Western—and so strangely absent from Central—Polynesia, are sufficiently remarkable in themselves, without requiring us to offer any opinion as to Colonel St Johnston's theory that they were raised by the same race of sun-

worshippers who built Stonehenge. The problem is a fascinating one—whatever solution may be offered—especially that aspect of it which concerns the relationship between, e.g., the Peruvian sculptures and those of Easter Island. But some natural distrust creeps in when we meet with the word 'Turanian,' which competent authorities now hesitate before using, and etymologies such as those which connect *vahine* with *γύνη* and 'Maori' with 'Maurya.' These excursions into amateur philology and anthropology, however, must not mislead us as to the real and enduring value of the book. It is quite possible, without taking account of any such speculations, to trace approximately the routes of immigration and the boundaries of the various superimposed cultures: Papuan, Polynesian, Melanesian.

The islanders of the Northern D'Entrecasteaux, who form the subject of Mr Jenness's very thorough-going study (undertaken in conjunction with the late Mr. Ballantyne), are classed by Dr Seligman as 'Massim' or 'Eastern Papuo-Melanesians.' Those of the Loyalty Islands, so attractively described by Mrs Hadfield, are, so far as one can gather, Melanesians *tout court*. A comparison of their myths and folk-lore—the more immediate concern of the present writer—would be interesting, but the materials are scarcely available. Mrs Hadfield, indeed, gives a number of Loyalty Islands stories and legends, but Mr Jenness's chapter on Myths is somewhat disappointing; while Colonel St Johnston has only a very few passing references to folk-tales, though giving much fuller accounts of tribal traditions and myths properly so called. One point specially worthy of note is 'the legends where daylight or the Sun is swallowed up into the cavernous belly of Night, and—as might be expected in coastal or island peoples—they are illustrated by tales of the brilliant hero-god being swallowed into the dark maw of a great fish.' Instances are given from New Zealand (the well-known Maui), the Solomon Islands, Mutuk in Torres' Straits and the north-western coast of America. The author adds, 'I have notes of many more of these . . . legends, but I have chosen these four to show that in the west, the middle, and the extreme east of the Pacific the same myth exists, and I believe that they are all connected with the Jonah and the whale story, which also was probably founded on a Sun and Darkness myth of very early times, told by the common ancestors of the Semitic peoples and the Polynesians.'

The last sentence leads us on to debatable ground; but it is more

to our present purpose to observe that Mrs Hadfield gives two stories of the same kind, in one of which a woman is swallowed by a whale, in the other by a shark. Both of these begin—like the Solomon Islander and the Mutuk man—to cut their way out; one does so completely, the other is ultimately rescued by some fishermen. I do not think we need necessarily conclude that this is a myth of Night and Day: the possibility of being so swallowed must often have occurred to the minds of a fishing people, in seas where sharks and whales—and, for aught they knew, yet more terrible monsters—abound. But those who think that the ancestors of the Zulus were —or at least came under the influence of—a migrant band from Indonesia or Polynesia, will find some confirmation for their theories in the elephant which swallowed the woman and her children, and out of which she cut her way—not to mention the Isiququmadevu and other grotesque land-monsters. (The Zulus, if they inherited any traditions of the sea, must have completely forgotten them.) Another story given by Mrs Hadfield (No. 10—'The Carnivorous Caenyo') is a variant on the familiar theme of the Swallowing Monster—a mother and her little son being, as so often in African tales, the only survivors. Mr Jenness gives what looks like a not very coherent version of this from Goodenough Island. It is, however, combined with two other motives, also common in Africa (and elsewhere): they take up their abode on the top of a high rock, and the mother goes out every day to look for food, being let down in the morning and drawn up on her return by the boy. She is caught at last by the demon, but creeps into the bag she had been carrying, so as to hide from him, and ultimately escapes. The demon tries to personate her, so as to get drawn up the rock in her place, but the boy recognizes him in time and, inducing him to open his mouth, kills him by dropping hot stones into it, as the Bantu Hare does to the Lion. (There is no resuscitation of the people who have been devoured.) All these incidents have more or less close parallels, and not in Africa only; I see no reason to regard them as derived from a common original, as they embody ideas which might arise anywhere. I am not sure, however, whether this principle should apply to the very curious tale of the 'Dove's Grandmother,' which recalls the African story—current in numerous variants—of the two men, or animals, who agree to kill and eat their mothers in time of scarcity, one keeping to the bargain, while his humaner comrade cheats, when it comes to his turn. The child

miraculously produced (from a fruit or a blood-drop)—and afterwards lost—in one case through ill-temper, in the other through disregarding a prohibition—appears in two Loyalty Islands stories. This is all the more remarkable because Mr Jenness seems to say (p. 104) that such ideas are quite unknown in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

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CHINA AND MODERN MEDICINE

China and Modern Medicine: A Study in Medical Missionary Development. By Harold Balme, F.R.C.S. (Eng.), D.P.H., Dean of the School of Medicine, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, China. London: United Council for Missionary Education. 3s. 6d. net. 1921.

This is a remarkable book. Within the limited compass of two hundred pages Dr Balme has not only given a vivid description of the origin and development of medical missionary work in China, but has given a clear exposition of the part that such work can take in the great missionary campaign and of the principles which govern and determine its full success.

Like all great movements which depend for success upon their power of adapting themselves to the ever-developing conditions of living communities, medical missions began in China in a very small way and, as the careless observer would say, 'accidentally.' In 1827 the failure of a ship's surgeon to join his ship led to a young Guy's man—Dr Colledge—being sent out to Macao, and this devout Christian at once took steps to offer to the great numbers of Chinese suffering from affections of the eyes the advantages of western medical knowledge and skill. Shortly afterwards Dr Parker, a graduate of Yale, was sent out as the first specially appointed medical missionary and started work at Canton. From this small beginning less than a hundred years ago, the work has grown and developed until now there are 150 mission hospitals, some of them splendidly equipped, medical schools, a regular system for training nurses, and a complete representation on a small scale of all the medical activities found in the most advanced western civilization. The story of this growth is a fascinating tale. It loses nothing at the hands of Dr Balme, who not only appreciates the splendid service of the many

workers from all churches and many countries whose devoted labours have made this growth possible, but who has seen the development that has accompanied the growth and has himself taken a large share in its latest phases. The picture has been skilfully drawn; the reader is interested from the first, and without excess of detail the main lines of progress are clearly shown.

The chief value of the book, and it is a great one, is the emphasis laid upon the underlying principles of medical missionary work. Very little stress is laid upon the fact of there being now 150 hospitals in place of one, ninety-five years ago. The result of the work is not to be measured by any numerical or quantitative standard, but qualitatively; and if that has been true in the early stages of the work, it will be still more true in its greater growth and development in the future. No one who reads this little book can fail to see that there has opened out to the Christian Church in Europe and America an opportunity to introduce almost at once into the vast continent of China all the blessings of scientific medicine with its boundless possibilities of further development, as a part of the great revelation of God in Christ Jesus.

Dr Balme presents the case with strong insistence upon the obligation to give to China the full fruits of the tree of knowledge as gathered by scientific method and associated with the inculcation of the truths of responsibility, of brotherhood, of Christian unity and of all the revelation of God to man. Members of mission committees should study this book; they cannot fail to get from it a clearer view of the missionary case and a more confident assurance of its success if only its claims are met. Further, I would especially urge that this book should be got into the hands of students of medicine and science before they have decided on their plan of life. It opens out a glorious prospect of the highest philanthropy, of splendid opportunities for research and medical advance, and of Christian statesmanship that can mould the future of a vast empire—a prospect that must appeal to many of the ablest and most ambitious of the earnest Christian men and women in our universities.

Need I add that from cover to cover of this book medical work is dealt with as a part of the great Evangel, and as intimately bound up with and necessary to the full proclamation of the Gospel? It is for definitely Christian doctors and nurses to see to it that there is no separation between science and religion in China. To-day they are parts of one great whole, and if the Church of Christ rises to her

opportunities she will secure that great blessing for the whole empire of China.

Sir Donald Macalister, the President of the General Medical Council, contributes a very interesting introduction to Dr Balme's book, and his approval will carry weight.

ALFRED PEARCE GOULD

LONDON

MISSIONARY HEALTH AND EFFICIENCY

THE HEALTH OF MISSIONARY FAMILIES IN CHINA: A STATISTICAL STUDY. By WILLIAM G. LENNOX, M.D. Denver, U.S.A. 1921.

WHEN the statistics of disease incidence during the Boer War were published, revealing the significant fact that more men had died of enteric fever alone than had been killed by bullet or shell, the army medical authorities instituted a careful investigation into the causation and prevention of all forms of sickness amongst troops. The result was seen in the remarkable health records of the recent campaign in France and Flanders. On the same principle missionary officials and medical missionaries to-day are giving increased attention to the possibility of improving the health and efficiency of the missionary force, and the volume before us represents one of the most ambitious efforts which has yet been made to ascertain exact facts and figures with regard to one field—that of China.

Accepting the well-recognized axiom that the infant and child mortality of any community furnish a reliable index to the health of the population, Dr Lennox, of the Peking Union Medical College, has confined his inquiry, in the main, to the statistics of disease and of mortality amongst the families of missionaries. His investigations have included within their range no less than eighty per cent of the missionaries who were actually in China at the time (1577 adults and 3254 children), and have covered over 35,000 years of residence in that country: his deductions are therefore worthy of most careful consideration. Eighty-three statistical tables are included in the book, indicating the relative frequency and fatality of various diseases, as compared with the home countries, and also showing to what extent such sickness has been influenced by the diverse conditions under which missionary work is conducted in different parts of China. The majority of these tables are of considerable value, but if we have

one criticism to offer it would be that the statistical method has been pressed beyond its natural limits, several tables being included which, as Dr Lennox himself admits, are based upon an insufficient number of cases to be of any real worth. Such tables are apt to mislead, and it is a question whether it would not have been better to omit them.

It is impossible to mention more than a few of the important facts which the inquiry has elicited, but the following are of special significance:

1. The rate of infant mortality for the first six months of life is very low —lower, in fact, than amongst professional classes in Great Britain. During the next six months, however, the rate is two or three times as high as amongst that class, due chiefly to intestinal disorders.

2. The death-rate of children between the ages of two and five is three times as high as that which exists in rural districts in England possessing the same infant mortality rate.

3. The chief causes of death amongst children are dysentery, diarrhœa and respiratory infections. Intestinal disorders count for one-third of all deaths. This points to the importance of the kitchen—too often dark, dirty and fly-infested—in the life and death of missionary children.

4. The following factors have an influence both upon morbidity and mortality:—

(*a*) *Location.* Contrary to expectation, North China proves to be far more unhealthy than either Central or South China, owing to the greater prevalence and fatality of dysentery there.

(*b*) *Length of residence.* The first three years of life in China produce the largest proportion of sickness.

(*c*) *Size of families.* Families possessing more children than five show a disproportionately large incidence of disease.

(*d*) *Character of missionary work.* Societies whose work is mainly of a pioneering nature, or those which include but few physicians on their staff, have the highest mortality rates. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the possession of medical or nursing experience on the part of a mother is far more effective, in preserving the health of the children, than such knowledge confined to the father.

(*e*) *Birthplace of parents.* Children whose parents have come from the continent of Europe have the highest mortality.

5. One death in every seven, of children of European parentage (exclusive of Great Britain), has been due to smallpox. Amongst missionary adults of all nationalities, the incidence of smallpox in China is thirty times as high as in Great Britain or America.

6. The incidence of typhoid fever is twelve times as high as in Great

Britain or America. Although the records of the European war have conclusively proved the enormous value of protective vaccination against this disease, inquiry at the Peking Language School in 1920 elicited the fact that no less than twenty per cent of the new missionaries there had failed to receive such vaccination.

7. More than half the adults in China have suffered from serious illness.

Dr Lennox is to be heartily congratulated upon the careful work which he has put into this book. It should be in the hands of every health officer attached to a mission board and should be made the subject of most careful study.[1]

H. Balme

London

[1] The author (2100 S. Columbine Street, Denver, Colorado, U.S.A.) will be glad to send a gratis copy, as far as supplies last, to any who are specially interested in the subject, if application is made to him direct.

THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

The Tanganyika Territory: Characteristics and Potentialities. By F. S. Joelson. With Map and Illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 21s. 1920.

Mr Joelson has written an interesting sketch of life in what was German East Africa.

The book gives a vivid account of the African native and his surroundings, dealing rather with the characteristics of the people than with the natural features of the land, except in the Rufiji district and the country close to the central railway. The title is a little ambitious. While we read a good deal of the native African —and of the German official—we are left rather to guess at what the potentialities of the Tanganyika Territory may be.

The book is fairly and sympathetically written. The reviewer, who as a missionary has known the natives of the territory for over twenty years, reads with special interest the criticism on the missionary and his work. Criticism is good provided there is knowledge in the critic and an honest intent, but some of Mr Joelson's objections to the missionary are, in the reviewer's opinion, overstated, and it is worth mentioning that he wanders as far away from the Tanganyika Territory as Uganda to press one of his points.

Mr Joelson does not support the theory that Mohammedanism is the religion for the African. He realizes how superficial the

religion of the great majority of the so-called Mohammedan believers in East Africa is. He points out that the Englishman's often expressed dislike of 'mission boys' as servants is not to be taken as a serious argument against the morale of Christian Africa in general. Those who claim to be 'mission boys' are sometimes not Christians at all, or they are the worst of the Christian converts who have gone down to the coast towns for employment without any certificate of good character. It is possible, moreover, that a nominal English Christian, or one who disdains even the name, would not be anxious to have a practising Christian boy to work in his house.

Mr Joelson refers to the 'idleness' of the African man which is much talked of by English settlers and others. Recently in an article in *The East and The West* relating to forced labour in Nyasaland, Mr Wilson of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa dealt with this subject; Major Pearce in his book on Zanzibar also shows how much work the ordinary home-living native African has to do on the land in cultivating his crops, and suggests that it would be well for many Englishmen, before they speak so freely of the idle African, to consider the day and night work that is necessary for an African if he is to get his food supply. The English settler is, perhaps, inclined to regard as 'work' something that may be of benefit to himself and other Europeans, and to lose sight of work done in the African village life.

The book does not lend itself to any serious discussion of missionary problems, for the writer does not state any particular view, but briefly gives the settler's disapproval of missionaries. After some dozen journeys to and fro from East Africa, often in company with other missionaries—Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant ministers of different denominations—the reviewer must own that he has not seen that unpopularity so underlined by Mr Joelson.

MALCOLM MACKAY

LONDON

THE SCANDINAVIAN MISSION TO THE SANTALS

EVANGELIET BLANDT SANTALERNE. By HARALD F. JÖRGENSEN. Kjöbenhavn: Den Nordiske Santalmissions Forlag. 1920.

IT is not easy in a short volume to write the history of a mission. It is either apt to result in a mere enumeration of dry facts and data or to become a compilation of anecdotes from the mission field which do not give the necessary survey of the work. Mr

Jörgensen's book on the Gospel among the Santals has not erred in either direction, and the reader is keenly interested from first to last.

The book gives a full account of the Scandinavian mission to the Santals from its commencement in 1865 to the year 1917. The introduction pictures the old condition of the Santals, where and how they lived, their religious standpoint, their character and their possibilities for development. Then the first missionaries entered the country and we are introduced to two splendid types complementary to one another, the Dane H. F. Börresen and the Norwegian Lars Olsen Skrefsrud. They both came from humble homes and were led through a hard schooling of life before they were found fit for the Master's service. The account of Mr Skrefsrud's early life is especially striking.

In 1865 the pioneer party of missionaries went out to Santalistan, and a wonderful work was commenced to raise a people that had always been repressed and persecuted, to self-confidence and independence. The breath of loving service and faith in ultimate success, which meet us during these first years of the Santal mission, is refreshing. The work was established on a broad basis—building up the young Santal Church, educating the children; preaching the Gospel in the villages and compounds and the visitation of the sick; putting the language into writing and translating the Bible into Santali. And the tasks constantly increased.

Börresen and Skrefsrud soon attained a great influence over the people, and through their just and straightforward way of dealing with every question were highly respected by the European authorities in the province. By negotiations and representations they ultimately succeeded in obtaining freedom and independence for the Santals. This was in 1872. They arranged proper rules for the tenure of freehold properties, founded tea-gardens and orderly settlements, and did a great work to develop and better the general conditions of the people. Later on the Holy Spirit was outpoured among the Santals and the strengthening and organization of the Church claimed a great deal of the attention of the missionaries. The work developed rapidly, fresh missionaries arrived; schools were established and new stations opened. Such an account of absolute reliance on God's help in all things cannot but grip the hearts of all true friends of missionary work.

The book has a comprehensive index, and references to other books and sources consulted by the author are given.

CHRISTIANIA CHR. DONS

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

THE January number of the Review, which begins the Eleventh Volume, will be considerably enlarged. The subscription price (10s. 6d. per annum) will remain unchanged, but single copies of the January issue will be 5s. Additional orders should be booked early, to avoid disappointment.

This Double Number will contain, amongst other features, a Monograph on Missionary Co-operation by Dr John R. Mott; a report of the First Meeting of the International Missionary Committee (at Lake Mohonk, U.S.A., October 1–6); an analysis of the Contribution made to the Study of Missions by the first Ten Volumes of the Review, by Professor William Adams Brown; a striking article by Dr Henry Sloane Coffin; the opening sections—on China, by the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, D.D., and on the Philippines, by the Rev. F. Laubach—of a survey of 'The Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years,' and several contributions by writers from European countries and from the East.

The number will also contain an extensive Ten Years' Selected International Missionary Bibliography, in the preparation of which the help of experienced scholars has been secured. This Bibliography will be indispensable for all students of missions, and will form a background for the quarterly Bibliography in future issues of the Review.

TEN YEARS' INDEX

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS

(JANUARY 1912 TO OCTOBER 1921)

PART I (pages 581 to 591) is an Index of the Articles published during the past ten years in the Review. They are classified under the Headings used in the International Missionary Bibliography which has appeared in each quarterly issue. In order to facilitate the use of the Review by students cross references to relevant articles classified under other Headings are appended to many of the sections.

PART II (pages 591 to 595) is an Index of the Authors who have contributed articles, with an indication of the subjects on which they have written.

PART III (pages 596 to 600) is an Index of Book Reviewers, showing the subject of the books reviewed and the names of their authors.

To save space, entries are abbreviated as much as possible: e.g. ' '12 (i) 1–14 '='1912, January, pages 1–14.'

The whole Index is arranged for use in connexion with the Ten Years' Selected International Missionary Bibliography to be published in this Review in the issue for January 1922.

PART I

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PART III

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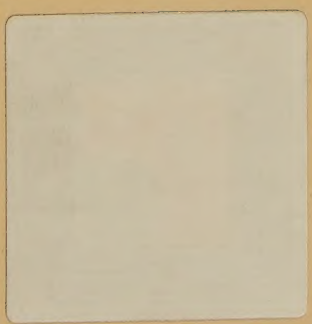

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